THE RELATIONS
of
GOLCONDA with IRAN
1518 - 1687

A STUDY CARRIED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE
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Preface

This is an enquiry into the 16th and 17th century international relationship in the specific context of the relations between two political entities of medieval southeast Asia - Golconda and Iran. This has been a many sided enquiry.

The first and the immediate is the appraisal of their political and diplomatic relations with a search to find happy and unhappy consequences of free relations of the medieval native Indian States with those of the world States. This examination has been carried with a further enquiry whether an Indian native State is capable of attaining the Status of a world State by alliance with any foreign agency.

The second is the assessment of the role of Golconda in the world market during a period before Industrial Revolution in the West, in the specific context of her commercial contacts with Iran.

The third observation is aimed at evaluating how far the ties of religion and traffic of ideas between the two contributed to the development of a sense of understanding between their peoples and so to the promotion of a world culture.

The observation of such issues in the context of a bipartite relationship needed elucidation of the physical and human personalities of the parties. This has therefore been done by briefly introducing the countries and the peoples of Golconda and Iran and the dynastic rule of Qutb Shahs and Safavis in an opening chapter. The four broad aspects namely i) the Political and Diplomatic ii) the Commercial iii) the Religious and iv) Idealogical had several dimensions to be viewed in particular perspectives which have therefore been sketched in broad outlines wherever necessary at the very opening of a discussion. In cases where something more than a sketchy perspective was needed somewhat detailed information has been supplied in separate annexures.

Regarding the general method and the treatment of the subject it may be pointed out that the scope of study embraces many disciplines particularly political science, economics, philosophy, geography, indology and islamics. The aspects of relations have been studied in

the light of respective disciplines. The data have been extracted exclusively from the first hand contemporary sources except for geography and demography for which a few later authorities too have been availed of. The sources of this study have been evaluated in an annexure.

The discussions proceed in chronological sequence divided in broad phases. Care has been taken to supply dates of all the events discussed in this thesis. The entire study has been arranged in five chapters with a few broad divisions of each further sub-divided into sections which help cross referencing and avoid repetition.

The facts and inferences have been generally supported by a series of references. Such multiple references on occasions vary and contradict each other but variations and contradictions have been discussed only in cases where such discussions were felt necessary. In all other cases a fair selection of facts has been made from diverse sources and discussions avoided. The object of citing the sources with which I do not agree is to indicate that such evidences too did not escape my notice. There may be some other evidences which did not find a place in immediate references but have been mentioned only in the selected bibliography as they were not directly made use of.

It has been felt that no English terms can adequately define many of the oriental institutions like Sultan, Elchi, Sultanate, Shah, Bazar et cetera. Many such words have been assimilated by English language. All such words of high significance which have been used in the contemporary sources and taken in by English language have been retained in their Anglican forms as Firman for Farman, Vizir for Vazir with a view to keep close to the spirit of the original expression. In case where Anglican forms are not available the terms of art have been defined in workable English and their original oriental forms have been transliterated immediately within parenthesis. However in some cases this has been done the other way round.

A table of abbreviations has been furnished in two parts. The first for the sources directly referred and footnotes; the second for institutions and collections of records and manuscripts. The sources are in many languages which have been indicated in the bibliography. The first criterion for reducing a reference to abbreviation has been that of oriental and occidental. The oriental sources have been generally referred to by a short form of their titles except in extreme cases where the author is more popularly known such as Firishtah. The occidental works have been generally referred to by their authors. No discrimination

has been made between manuscript and published sources, while abbreviating, except in specific cases where such information was necessary. Nevertheless the bibliography supplies all necessary information about the sources. The sources fully detailed in foot notes have not been further reduced to abbreviations.

The bibliography was rather ponderous. A careful selection of only those works which may broaden the outlook for appreciating the present study have been categorically listed and added at the end. Of course there have been many more interesting and useful works which could not have been included in it.

The dates have been given first according to Hijrah era then the corresponding dates in Christian era have been supplied after marking / as reckoned from Pillai's Indian Ephemeris.

The two maps of Golconda Sultanate and Safavi Iran added to this thesis are based on as detailed and original a study as that involved in any chapter of this thesis. All the maps were practically drawn by me and cartographically finished by professional expert.

The documents bearing on this relational study were scattered in many institutions. They were all culled

and chronologically arranged in the course of this study. Most of these documents were found without dates and names of the addresser and addressee. Such facts have been ascertained with the help of internal evidence studied in the light of other contemporary data. Copies of a selection of such documents together with brief notes have been furnished in a supplement to this thesis, with the specification of the parties in correspondence, the name of the bearer and dates of letters.

This study could not have been brought to a successful completion without the guidance from my seniors and help from many institutions and friends.

First of all I have the pleasure of recording my grateful thanks to my Professor Dr. P.M. Joshi under whose superb guidance I carried this study.

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On this occasion I remember my friend Dr.John F.Richard of the University of Wisconsin who was first to encourage me for working on medieval history and to Dr. Mrs. Karen B.Leonard of the University of California who inspired me with spirit in many a difficult moments.

The books and material were acquired from different institutions in India and abroad. For this I am grateful to

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Dr. M.L. Nigam, Director, Salar Jung Museum and Library for kindly supplying me copies of rare sources.

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Sri Nagarajchar, Administrative Officer, Institute of Asian Studies, for lending me as many books as I desired.

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I am thankful to my Junior Associates Dr. Najma Siddiqua, (Mrs) Rafiq Fatima, M.A., Research Scholar and (Miss) Zaibunisa Begum, M.A., Research Scholar for their helping me in taking out detailed extracts from different sources and in processing the data in many ways.

I am extremely thankful to Mr. S. Venkataramiah, I.A.S Director of State Archives not only for permitting me to make use of archival records and manuscripts but also for helping me in many ways and providing facilities in carrying out this project as a Research Fellow of the State Archives.

I have to thank Mr. Sadiq Husain for his expert cartographic assistance in preparing the maps of Golconda and Iran, Mr. Majeed Khan and Mr. Koteswara Rao for preparing xerox and photographic reproductions of documents and maps and to Mr.H.D.Vijaya Bharath for typing the thesis with diligence and care.

I have now the pleasure of recording thanks to my friends Mr. Mujeeb Qadri, Mr. Syed Dawood Ashraf, M.A. and Mr. Mir Karamat Ali, M.A. for their help and cooperation in different ways at one stage or the other of this work.

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Transliteration

The system of transliteration employed in this thesis is basically the same Indo-Persian system introduced by Steingass. However the diacritical marks used here are somewhat different due to the reason that the present study includes many Indian (Sanskrit and Dravidian) phonomes also.

I		II	
ب	b	ت	t
ج	j	ٹ	t̄
ر	r	ط	ṭ
ف	f	ث	s̤
ق	q	س	s
ک	k	ص	ṣ
ل	l	د	d
م	m	ڈ	d̄
ن	n	ذ	ẓ
ی	y	ز	z
		ض	z̈
		ظ	z̄

III

چ	ch
خ	kh
ش	sh
	gh
	-h (as in Hindi phūl bān)

IV

ع	ʿ
ء	ʾ (this has been indicated only when essential)

V

ـِـ	i
ـَـ	a
ـُـ	u

VI

ی	ī
ے	e as in Ajmer
ا	ā
و	ū as in Nūr Jahan or
و	o as in Hindi Tola

Alif lam (ال) has been transliterated as: ul in case of lunar (Qamari) letters as in Kitab-ul-Imamah; 'l' has been substituted by an apostrophi in case of a solar (Shamsi) letter as in Hadiqat-u'sSalatin. The cases of Arabic phrases have been indicated with al, il or ul as

the case might be as in Inna'ddunya, fi'l-kitab and Nujum-u'sSama respectively.

Izafat has been avoided in the names of persons as Ibn K̲h̲ātūn and not Ibn-i-K̲h̲ātūn.

The names of the oriental authors of English books have been given in a way the authors themselves style their names as Riazul Islam and not Riyāẓ-ul-Islām.

The names of places have been given in a way these are found in standard atlases and other modern geographical literature.

Abbreviations

A.A.A.	Tarikh-i- Alam Ara-i-Abbasi: Iskandar Munshi
ʿAbdullah Namah	ʿAbdullah Namah: Tanish bin Muḥammad al Bukhārī
Āftābchī	Taẕkirat-ul-Waqiʿāt: Jauhar Āftābchī Tr. Major Charles Stewart
Ain	Ain-i-Akbari: Ābul Faẓl
Ālbāb	Mahbūbul Ālbāb: Khudā Bakhsh
Alboquerque	The commentaries of the great Afonso Dalboquerque
ʿAmal	Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ: Muḥammad Ṣalih Kamboh
A.N.	Ākbar Namah: Abul Faẓl
Appadorai	Economic conditions in Southern India (2 Vols.): A. Appadorai

Aūṣāf	Aūṣāf-ul-Amṣār: Mustaūfi, Muḥammad Mufīd
Barbosa	The Book of Duarte Barbosa ed. Longworth Dames
Basham	The wonder that was India: Basham, A.L.
Bedyabinod	Supplementary catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum: Bedyabinod, B.B.
Bilgirami	Land Marks of the Deccan: Bilgirami, A.A.
B.N.	Babur Namah Tr. Mrs. Beveridge
Bowrey	Countries Round the Bay of Bengal: Bowrey, Thomas
Browne	Literary History of Persia: Browne, E.G.
Burhan	Burhan-i-Maʾasir: Ṭaba Ṭaba, Sayyid ʿAli
Careri	Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: ed. Surendranath Sen
CHI	The Cambridge History of Iran Vol. I ed. Fisher, W.B.
Census A.P.	Census of India Atlas Volume of Andhra Pradesh, 1961

Census Madras	Census of India Atlas Volume of Madras, 1961
Census (M)	Report of the Census of Madras Presidency, 1871
Contarini	Travels to Tana and Persia: Contarini Ambrogio
Dabistān	Ẕulfiqār bin Āẓar Sāsāni
Dānish	Dānish Namah-i-Shāhi (MS): Amin, Muhammad bin Muhamad Sharif
Danvers	The Portuguese in India (2 Vols): Danvers, F. Charles
Dastūr	Dastūr-u's Siyāq-i-Mumālik-i-Iran-wa-Hindustani (MS)
Devare	A short History of Persian literature: Devare, T.N.
Dīh ba dīh	Dih ba Dīh (MS): Anonymous
Dilkashā	Tarīkh-i-Dilkashā: Bhim Sēn
E.F.I.	English factories in India: Foster William (13 Vols)
Elchi	Tarīkh-i-Quṭbi: Khurshah bin Qubādul Ḥusaynī (Elchi-i-Nizam Shah)
Elliot	The Coins of southern India: Elliot Walter

E.R.B.I.	Early Records of British India: Wheller James Talboys
Ethe	Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the library of India Office
Far. Sh.	Farman Hay Shahan-i-Hind-Wa-Deccan: Anonymous
Farquhar	The religious Quest of India: Farquhar, J.N.
Firis̄htah	Guls̄han-i-Ibrāhīmī: Faris̄htah, Ābul Qāsim
Fryer	East India and Persia: Fryer, John
F.S.D.S.	Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans: Yusuf Husayn Khan
Habib	Agrarian System of the Mughals: Irfan Habib
H.S.	Habib-u'sSiyar: Khawand Amir, Ghiyasu'ddin
Hadāiq	Hadāiq-u'sSalatīn: ʻAli bin Ṭayfur
Hadīqah	Hadīqat-u'sSalatin: Niẑam u'ddin Shīrāzī
Hamilton	East India: Hamilton, Alexander

H.Y.	Ḥaqq-ul-Yaqīn: Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir
Herbert	Dodmor Cotton Mission: Herbert
H.M.P.	A history of Muslim Philosophy (2 Vols): Sharif, M.M.
Hitti	A history of Arabs: Hitti, Philip K.
Hobson Jobson	A glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial words and Phrases: Yule and Burnell
Hodivala	Historical studies in Mughal Numismatic: Hodivala
Hunter	A history of British India: Hunter, William Wilson
Ikhtīyārāt	Ikhtīyārāt-i-Quṭb Shāhī: Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin and others
Imāmah	Kitāb-ul-Imāmah: Ibn Khātūn
I.N.	Iqbāl Nāmah-i-Jahāngīrī
Iran Atlas	Historical Atlas of Iran
I.T.W.	Inshā-i-Ṭāhir Wahīd
Joshi (Coins)	Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda (Articles): Joshi, P.M.
Kashf	Kashf ul Ḥijab wal Astar (MS): I‘jaz Ḥusayn

K.K.	Muntakhab-ul-Lubab Khafi Khan
Khirqah	Khirqah-i-ʻUlama (MS): Ibn ʻImad Rūzbihān Isfahani
K.M.M.	Kitab-ul-Masalik Wal Mamalik Ibn Khurdad bih
Kulliyāt	Kulliyāt-i-Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah
Lambton	Land Lord and Peasants in Persia: Lambton, Ann K.S.
Lane Poole	Turkey: Lane Poole, Stanely
Legacy	Legacy of Islam: Arnold, T.W.
L.R.E.I.C.	Letter received by the East India Company: Danvers
Mackenzie	Manual Krishna District: Mackenzie
Majālis	Majālis-ul-Mūminin: Nūrullah Shustari
Makātib (s)	Makātib-i-Shahan-i-Safavi-wa-Shahān-i-Hind-wa-Rūm Waghayrah (MS): Anonymous
Makātib (z)	Makātib-i-Zamanah-i-Salaṭīn-i-Ṣafaviyah (MS): Anonymous
Malcolm	History of Persia: Malcolm, John

Manucci	Storia Do Mogor (1653-1708): Manucci Niccolao Tr. Irvine, William
Master	The Dairies of Streynsham Master ed. Temple, R.C.
Maʿsumiyah	Risālah-i-Maʿsumiyah: ʿAlī bin Ṭayfūr
Matlaʿ	Matlaʿ-u'sSaʿdayn (MS): ʿAbdu'r Razzāq, Kamalu'ddīn Samarqandī
M.D.H.	Medieval Deccan History: Sherwani and Joshi
Minorsky	Qara Quyunlu (Article)
Miqdāriyah	Risālah-i-Miqdāriyah (MS): Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin
Mīzān	Mīzān-u't-Tabaʿ Quṭb Shāhī Taqiu'ddīn Muḥammad
Moreland	From Akbar to Aurangzeb: Moreland, W.H.
Mufīdī	Jamiʿ-i-Mufīdī: Mustaūfī, Muhamad Mufid
Muir	The Caliphate its rise decline and fall:Muir, William
Muntak͟hab (B)	Muntak͟hab-u't-Tawarik͟h: Badāyuni, ʿAbdul Qadir

Nujūm	Nujūm u'ssama: Mirza Muḥammad ʿAli
Nafayis	Nafayis-ul-Funun Fi ʿArayis-ul ʿUyūn (MS):Maḥammad b Mahmūd Amoli
Naqshah	Naqshah-i-Iran: Abdu'r Razzaq Khan Muhandis and E.Girard
Nasrābādī	Tazkirah: Ṭahir Nasrābādī
Pope	Survey of Persian Art: Pope, A.U.
P.N.	Padshāh Nāmah: Lahori, ʿAbdul Ḥamīd
Prasad	History of Jahangir: Beni Prasad
Purchas	Purchas: His Pilgrims
Q.	Al-Quran
Qazvīnī	Padshah Nāmah: Muḥammad Amin Qazvīnī No.85 MS, S.A.A.P.
Rao	Religion in Andhra: Rao, B.S.L. Hanumantha
Raūẓah	Raūẓat-u'sṢafa: Mir Khwānd
Raychaudhuri	Jan Company in Coromandal: Raychaudhuri, Tapan
Relations	Relations of Golconda: Moreland, W.H.

REEIC	Records of English East India Company Vol. 13: Foster, William
R.I.	Indo-Persian Relations: Riyazul Islam
Risālah Ghayb-wa-Zuhor	Risālah dar bāb-i-Subūt-i-ghayb wa-Zuhur-i-hazrat Sahib-u'z Zaman: Majlisī, Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir
R.N.R.	Corporate Life in Medieval Andhra Desa: R. Narasimha Rao
Ross	Persian Art: Ross, E. Dennison
Ruqʿat	Ruqʿat ʿĀlamgiri: Aurangzeb
Saksena	History of Shah Jahan of Delhi: Saksena, Banarsi Prasad
Salāfah	Salāfat ul ʿAsr: Anonymous
Sanaiʿ	Sanaiʿ Iran Bad az Islam: Ḥasan, Zakī Muḥammad
Sarwar	History of Shah Isma il Safavi: Ghulam Sarwar
Schouten	Voiage aux Indes Orientales (1658-1665): Schouten, Gautier
Schuman	International Politics: Schuman
Scott	An Atlas of the Southern Part of India: Scott, Major F.J.

SDAR	Selected documents of Aurangzeb: Yusuf Husain Khan
SDSJR	Selected documents of Shah Jahan's reign: Yusuf Husayn Khan
Shajar	Shajar-i-Dānish (MS): Gilānī Nizāmu' ddin Ḥakim ul Mulk
Shakeb	Jame -ul- Atiyat: Shakeb Ziauddin Ahmed
Shamsullah (I)	ʿImādiyah: Shamsullah Qādrī
Shamsullah (M)	Muʾarrikhīn-i-Hind: Shamsullah Qādrī
Sherwani (B)	Bahmanis of the Deccan: Sherwani, H.K.
Sherwani (Q)	History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty: Sherwani, H.K.
Shuẓur	Shuẓur ulʿIqyān: Anonymous
Sifwat	Sifwat u'sSafa: Ibn Bazzaz
Silsilah	Silsilat-u n-Nasab-i-Ṣafawiyah: Ḥusayn Ibn Abdal Zahidi
ʿSirat	ʿSirat-ul-Mustaqin wa Din-i-Qawim (MS): Anonymous
SIT	Sources of Indian Traditions: ed. Bary W. Theodore

SWD	Selected Waqai of the Deccan: Yusuf Husain Khan
Sykes	A History of Persia: Sykes Percy
Tabṣirah	Tabṣirat-ul-ʿAwam (MS): ʿAlam ul-Huda Sayyid Murtuẓa
Taftazani	A Commentary on the creed of Islam: Taftazani
Ṭālqānī	Munsha'at-i-Dabir ul Mulk: Ṭālqānī ʿAbdul ʿAli
Ṭālqānī (A)	Maktūbat-i-Sultan Abul Hasan: Talqani Haji Abdul Azim
Tavernier	Travels in India: Tavernier
Terpstra	De vistiging van de Nederlanders aan dekust van koromandel: Terpstra, H.
Thevenot	Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri by Surendranath Sen
Times Atlas	The Times Atlas
T.M.	Tazkirat ul Muluk
Minorsky	Tr. Minorsky
T.Q.S.	Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah (MS): Anonymous
Tuḥfah	Tuḥfah-i-Shāhī ʿAtiyah-i-Ilāhī (MS): Badakhshi, Zayn-uddin ʿAlī

Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri: Jahangir
Uṣūl	Uṣūl-i-K̄hamsah-i-Imāmiyah (MS): Anonymous
Wali	Qutb Shahi Coins in the Andhra
Wali Abdul	Pradesh Government Museum: Wali, Abdul
Wilson	The Persian Gulf: Wilson Arnold T.
Wilson, H.H.	A Glossary of Indian Judicial and Revenue terms: Wilson, H.H.
Z̄afrah	Tarīkh-i-Z̄afrah: Āḥqar, Girdhārī Lal
Z̈amīmah	Z̈amīmah-i-Tarīkh-e-Quṭub Shāhī (MS): Anonymous
Zimmer	Philosophies of India: Zimmer, Henrich
Z.N.	Zafar Nama: Yazdi, Sharfu'ddin Ali
Zonis	Political Elite of Iran: Zonis, Marvin
Zor	Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin: Zor, Mohiuddin Qadri.

INSTITUTIONS

BM	British Museum
Bod	Bodleian Library Oxford
BSOAS	British School of Oriental and African Studies
HAKC	Ḥusayn ʿAli Khan Collection, SAAP
HYC	Ḥusayn al Yāfaʿi Collection, SAAP
IAU	Idara-i-Ādabiyāt-i-Urdu, Hyderabad, A.P.
KHC	Khusro Ḥusayni Collection, SAAP
SAAP	State Archives Andhra Pradesh
SAC	Sajjād ʿAli Collection, SAAP
SCL	State Central Library, A.P.
SJM & L	Salar Jung Museum and Library, Hyderabad

ONE

Introduction

THE DYNASTIES

Sec. 1 The Qutb Shahs

On the break up of the Bahmani Kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century there arose in the Deccan five different sultanates.[1] Of these Golconda was one. It was founded by Sultan Qūlī a member of the Black Sheep (Qara Qūyunlū) Tribe.[2] During Bahmani rule a number of foreigners from Iran and other places used to migrate to the Deccan which was for them a land of opportunities. Some of the emigrants rose to high position and Sultan Qūlī by his abilities rose to be the governor (tarafdār) of Tilangāna.[3]

Sultan Qūlī joined service under Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani when a conflict between such emigrants (Āfāqis) and the native called Deccani people had become deep rooted and hence a decisive factor in power politics of the Deccan.

The Bahmani Sultanate was tottering under the pressure of that conflict. The nobles were maneuvering to break away from the Sultanate and assume autonomy within a jurisdiction under their control. Sultan Qūlī was no less ambitious and capable of such autonomy than any other noble in the Deccan. Nevertheless he was scrupulous and preferred slow and steady measures to revolution. With a view to maintain his status in the society of states he joined the Ṣafavī Movement. That alliance was essential for the survival of his Sultanate since the other Sultanates of the Deccan like Bijāpūr and Āḥmadnagar had fallen in with the same movement.[4]

SULTAN QŪLĪ

Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah was a disciple of Shāh Naʿyimu'ddīn Niʿmatullah of Yazd.[5] As the Sufi households of Iran were assuming a Shi'ite character by the close of the fifteenth century Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah too adhered to the Shi'ite faith, which subsequently he upheld as a State Religion.[6] Sultan Qūlī was a good administrator and a military expert. By 921/1515 he could have captured Venuconda, Bellamconda, Nāgarjunaconda and a few other forts from Vijayānagar. He next annexed Vijayāwada. He had to resist the invasions of the Rayas of Vijayānagar and the Gajapatis and recapture Warangal, Kammammet, Devarconda and Nalgonda.[7]

He first strengthened the fort of Golconda and then advanced to restore the territories lost by him.[8] He defeated Āchutā Rāyā and annexed Pāngal, Ghanapūra, Koilconda and some other places to his Sultanate. The reign of Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah extended over 26 years making an eventful history.

His Sultanate stretched over the following parts of Telugu speaking area.

i) Kaulās, Elgandal, Melangūr, Warangal, Rāmgīr, Khammammet, Rajahmundry, Sicacole, ii) Kaulās, Medak, Golconda, Koilconda, iii) Pāngal, Devarconda, Nalgonda, Kondavidu and Udayāgīrī.[9]

Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah was assasinated on 2nd Jumada II 950/2nd September 1543 by Mir Maḥmūd Hamadānī who presumably did that at the instance of Sultan Qūlī's son Yār Qūlī Jamshīd.[10]

YĀR QŪLĪ JAMSHĪD AND SUBHĀN QŪLĪ

Sultan Qūlī was succeeded by his son Yār Qūlī Jamshīd in Jumada II, 950/September 1543. His younger brother Ibrāhim Qūlī fled to Vijayānagar. Jamshīd neither cared for recognition nor he was recognised by any of the new Sultans of the Deccan except Nizām Shah. Jamshīd died a natural death from Cancer on 3rd Mūharram 957/22nd January, 1550 after ailing for over two years. His period especially

in the context of international relationship is less eventful. There is no evidence of his coming into contact with Shah Ṭahmasp Ṣafavī.[11]

He was immediately succeeded by his son Subhān Qūlī and in a few months Subhān's regime was overthrown by the partisans of his uncle Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah.[12]

IBRĀHIM QŪLĪ

Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah was the youngest of Sultan Qūlī's sons and was hardly fourteen years old at the time of his father's death. Fearing his life at the hands of his brother Jamshīd he fled to Vijayānagar where he was respectfully received. He remained as the guest of Rāmā Rāj for over seven years. During the reign of Subhān Qūlī the court politics in Golconda took a turn in favour of Ibrāhim. Particularly the two nobles Mustafa Khan Ārdastānī and Jagdev Rāo were the strong supporters of Ibrāhim, who occupied the Quṭb Shāhī throne on 12th Rajab 957/27th July, 1550.

Having lived for a considerable period at Vijayānagar Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah had a better understanding in the Deccan affairs than his predecessors had. He loved a policy of peace and non alignment but in about a decade he got involved in the politics of the Deccan Sultans whom he joined in the battle of Banīhattī[13] which took place on 28th Jumada II 972/ 23rd January 1565 in which a league of four Sultans made a

strong attempt to overthrow the Vijayānagar Empire. Though Vijayānagar could not have been annihilated, she was much weakened.

It was a period when Hindustan was again having a powerful Centre with Ākbar and the Ṣafavī movement (see Sec. 2 below) was gaining influence in the Deccan. That led the Deccan Sultans and so Golconda to reorientate their foreign policy. He had sent his representatives both to the Mughal as well as to the Ṣafavī court.

The capital developed into a cosmopolitan city during his reign and a considerable influx of Iranian elite is noticed. The cultural personality of Golconda starts taking its shape from his times. He died on 21st Rabi II 988/5th June, 1580 after ruling for thirty one years.[14]

MŪḤAMMAD QŪLĪ

Mūḥammad Qūlī was the third son of Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah and about fourteen years old at the time of his accession. He was not trained in statecraft and was more interested in art and cultural activities. The administration was actually looked after by Mir Mūḥammad Mūmin Āstarābādī who was appointed peshwa of the Sultanate and Mūḥammad Āmin Shahrastānī the Mir Jūmla.

There is a series of minor skirmishes on the frontiers and revolts by certain chieftains within the Sultanate. Most of which were subjugated by the efficient militarimanship of Mir Jūmla. Though Vijayānagar ceased to be a menace, Golconda had to experience the Mughal oppression on the Deccan in 1005/1600 when the allied forces of the Deccan Sultanates including Golconda failed to save Āḥmadnagar at the battle field of Sonpat. In the Deccan Golconda and Bijāpūr were now the autonomous Sultanates which had to seek their survival either by resisting the expanding sway of Hindustan or by submitting their allegiance to her. In such circumstances Mir Mūḥammad Mūmin played an important role for creating a harmony within various sections and levels of society on the one hand and in balancing foreign policy on the other.

The reign of Mūḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah has been taken as the zenith of the dynastic rule. It was during this period both the native as well as the Iranian type of culture flourished in Hyderabad - a city which was founded by himself.

Mūḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah died on 17th Zilqada 1020/ 11th January 1612 at the age of forty seven and a reign of thirty seven years.[15]

MŪḤAMMAD

Sultan Mūḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah had only one daughter Hayāt Bakhshī Begum and no son. He was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law prince Mūḥammad who ruled as Sultan Mūḥammad Quṭb Shah. Sultan Mūḥammad had received his training in statecraft by Mir Mūḥammad Mūmin who was continued as peshwa till his death on 2nd Jumada I 1034/31st January, 1625. The reign of Sultan Mūḥammad Quṭb Shah was a period of peace and prosperity. He suffered little from the Mughal menace and managed with them by paying peshkash. Prince Shah Jahān was helped by him when he revolted against Jahāngīr. He encouraged the influx of Iranian intellectuals at a very large scale. He was a good scholar and patronised Shi'ah scholarship in Golconda. He died on 13th Jumada I 1035/31st January, 1626 after ruling for fourteen years.[16]

'ABDULLAH

'Abdullah Quṭb Shah ascended the throne on 14th Jumada I 1035/1st February 1626 at the age of about twelve years. His mother Hayāt Bakhshi Begum had her hand in controlling the state of affairs as queen dowager. Many administrative changes were effected during the first two years of his reign. On 9th Ramazan 1038/22nd April, 1629 Shaikh Mūḥammad Ibn Khātun was appointed as the Peshwa of the Sultanate.[17] The Mughal pressure was increasing on

Golconda and Bijāpūr during the reign of Shah Jahān, the new peshwa had therefore to play a very significant role in negotiating peace with the Mughals.

In Zilhijjah 1045/May, 1636 ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah had to submit his allegiance to the Mughals through a Deed of Submission (Inqiyād Nāmah) which rendered Golconda weak and opened to Mughal interference. The same year Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id Ārdastānī was appointed as Sar Daftar of the important Sarkārs of Masulipatam Nizampatam and Mūstafa-nagar.[18] Mūḥammad Sa'id soon rose to the position of Havaladar of Masulipatam[19] and then as Sarkhayl[20] in the year 1052/1642. He was ultimately appointed as Mir Jūmla. Consequent on the death of Shaikh Ibn Khātun in 1058/1648 he was the strongest man in the Sultanate. Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id an able administrator, an expert militariman and a wizard of internal and external trade as he was, made a remarkable contribution in expanding and strengthening the Sultanate. He conquered the provinces (Āṭrāf) of Eastern Karnātak up to Jingī and annexed them to Golconda. He exploited gem fields at a very large scale and promoted overseas trade. Though the Sultanate was strong with him but the Sultan was intimidated with the presence of such a strong person. This led to misunderstanding and strained relation. In the year 1066/1655 Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id crossed over to the Mughals and was favoured with a mansab of 5000

zat and 5000 sawars by Āurangzeb.[21]

The defection of Mir Jūmla was followed by the Mughal invasion and plunder of Hyderabad city at his instigation. The Sultanate was then weakened in all respect.

Prince Āurangzeb who was oppressing Golconda and Bijāpūr with his enormous force had to divert his attention towards Delhi where Shah Jahān was reported to be ill. In Jumada I 1068/February, 1658 he left Āurangabad for Delhi and was engaged in the contest of succession and ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah find a respite of peace. The rest of his reign was almost undisturbed. He died on 3rd Mūharram 1083/21st April, 1672.[22]

ABUL ḤASAN

ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah was succeeded by his third son-in-law Abul Ḥasan in Mūharram 1083/April, 1672. The succession was reported to Āurangzeb for his approval which he accorded under a set of conditions. Abul Ḥasan had to submit his allegiance to the Mughals and rule over Golconda as one appointed by them. The assignment of the Sultanate to Abul Ḥasan was subject to his loyalty. He was warned not to enter into alliance with Shivājī.[23]

Abul Ḥasan was not trained in statecraft. He

could not create a balance in the power struggle of his nobility. Two of his prime ministers (Mir Jūmla) Mūḥammad Ibrāhim K̲halilullah and Sayyid Mūzaffar crossed over to Āurangzeb. He ultimately appointed the two brothers Ākkannā and Madannā as Mir Jūmla and Peshkar (Accountant) respectively. He also entered in an alliance with Shivājī an action which roused the anger of the Mug̲hal Emperor. He also attempted at seeking military aid from Iran against the Mug̲hals. But Āurangzeb took a decisive action, annexed Golconda and took Abul Ḥasan a prisoner on 24th Zilqada 1098/21st September, 1687.[24]

Sec. 2 The Ṣafavis

SHAH ĪSMĀʿIL

Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī the founder of the dynastic rule was a descendant of S̲haik̲h Ṣafīu'ddīn Īsḥaq (d. 735/1334), a sufi saint of Ārdābil, who had been a direct descendant of the Seventh Imām Mūsā Kāzim.[25]

He rose with a movement initiated by him, which has been quite often referred to in this study as the Ṣafavī Movement.

He was capable of leading his campaigns at the young age of thirteen only. He was supported by seven

Turkman tribes who were called 'King Lovers' (Shah Seven) and comprised Shāmlū, Ūstājlū, Rūmūlū, Tākūlū, Zul Qadr, Afshār and Qājār clans, unitedly called Qizilbāsh.[26] As he advanced towards Tārum, Khalkhāl, Bāku and Shamākhī at every stage he was able to increase his forces to a strength of about sixteen thousand men by the end of 906/1500. He fought with Sherwān Shah near Gulistān and gave him a fatal defeat. That was his first victory which was followed by the allegiance submitted by various amirs like Mūḥammad Zakariyāh the Aq Quyunlu Prime Minister and others. In 907/1501 he defeated the Aq Quyunlu Chief Ālvand Mirza at Nakhjavan and brought the entire province of Āzarbaijān under his sway. The same year he was crowned at Tabriz as the sovereign and was called Shah Īsmā'il. His name together with the names of Twelve Imāms was included in Khutbah and coins were struck in his name.[27]

THE ṢAFAVĪ MOVEMENT

The young Īsmā'il Mirza later called Shah Īsmā'il rose with an unprecendented success and brought the entire Northern and Western Iran under his sway in about two decades. His dynamic career owed to a strong movement led by him. This was a three dimensional movement. Firstly it was a military organisation of fanatic Qizilbāsh who quite selflessly fought for the furtherance of the religo-

political objectives of the movement. The Qizilbāsh had been wearing red caps for their identity and were called Red Heads.[28] They constituted the military force of Ṣafavī Iran. Secondly it was a religious movement of a political character. Shah Īsmā'il was rather a fanatic advocate of Shi'ite faith which he declared his State Religion to be adhered to by one and all.[29] It was this aspect which played a governing role in the formulation of the foreign policy of the Safavi Iran not only during the reign of Shah Īsmā'il I but throughout his dynastic rule. Thirdly it had been a national movement aimed at reviving Iranian national consciousness and culture with these dimensions. The Ṣafavī Movement made such progress as to affect the mind and conduct of Iranian society in almost every respect.[30]

It was perhaps the most significant achievement of Shah Īsmā'il to initiate and lead the Movement which resulted in serious reactions of the Ottomans the Uzbegs and the other Sunni political entities.

However the powerful Qizilbāsh support captured Dayār-e-Bakr, Ākhlat Bitlis, Ārjish and finally Baghdād in 914/1508. He was challenged and insulted by the Uzbeg Chief Shaybānī Khan with whom he fought a decisive battle at Ṭahirābād near Marv. Shaybāni Khan was defeated and

killed on 24th Rajab 916/1st December, 1510.[31] Here it may be mentioned that Bābur's sister was one among the captives of Marv who was respectfully treated and sent to Bābur. That had established good relations between Bābur and Shah Īsmā'il. Subsequently in 918/1512 Bābur was helped by a large Persian army so as to enable him to conquer Samarqand.[32]

In Rajab 920/September 1514 Shah Īsmā'il had to fight a battle with Sultan Salīm the Grim at Chaldīrān a plain to the East of Lake Ūrmiya. In this battle Shah Īsmā'il lost Kordistān, Dayār-e-Bakr and Georgia.[33]

Shah Īsmā'il died at Ārdabil on 19th Rajab 930/ 23rd May, 1524 and was succeeded by his son Shah Ṭahmāsp who was only ten years old.

SHAH ṬAHMĀSP

Ṭahmāsp was the eldest son of Shah Īsmā'il. The Qizilbāsh Chiefs were his guides during his early career. Though subsequently he had to face many intrigues between Qizilbāsh Chiefs which he tackled through drastic measures but his immediate concern were the Uzbeg and Turkish menaces. In 934/1527 his generals defeated the Uzbegs near Turbat-i-Shaikh Jām. But in 937/1530 Uzbegs again took over Herāt which remained under their control for eighteen months.

In 940/1534 Iran was invaded by Sulaymān the Magnificent of Turkey. Though with much difficulty Shah Ṭahmāsp defended successfully. Four years after Sulaymān advanced again and took possession of Baghdād and Tabriz. Most of the rulers of Sherwān and Gilān submitted their allegiance to Sulaymān.

One of the major events in the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp in the context of this study is Hūmāyūn's reception in Iran. Hūmāyūn had fled to Iran after having lost his kingdom in Hindūstān. In Shawwāl 950/December, 1543 he wrote a letter to Shah Ṭahmāsp before entering his territory.[34] In response to it Shah Ṭahmāsp also issued a Firman respecting arrangements for Hūmāyūn's reception. Humayun was entertained by Shah Ṭahmāsp in different ways but was made to accept Shi'ite faith through a peculiar treatment. He was fully helped to restore his suzerainty over Hindūstān.[35] In 961/1554 Iran and Turkey, weary of hostile relations, entered into a peace treaty. The later years of his reign are uneventful except the frequent skirmishes with the Georgians and the independant rulers of Gilan.[36] Shah Ṭahmāsp died on 15th Safar 984/14th May, 1576.

ĪSMĀ'IL II AND KHUDABANDAH

Shah Ṭahmāsp was immediately succeeded by his

fourth son Shah Īsmā'il II who had been imprisoned by his father for twenty five years in the castle of Qahqaha. He could rule for about a year and a half from 24th Safar 984/ 23rd May, 1576 to 13th Ramazan 985/24th November 1577 during which period he put to death his brothers and all other probable aspirants of the throne. Out of eleven sons of Shah Ṭahmāsp about nine had survived him. The first of them was Mūḥammad Khūdā Bandah who was regarded as absolutely disqualified for succession since he was almost deprived of his eye sight. But he was ruling Khorāsān. Shah Īsmā'il II first put to death his two brothers Sulaymān[37] and Mūstafa even before the funeral of his father was led to Mashhad and before his own coronation. It was his last resort that he sent Aqa Qūlī Khan Chief of the Shāmlū to put to death Mūḥammad Khudābandah and his six years old son 'Abbās Mirzā. Before the instructions could be implemented Shah Īsmā'il II died from drink and overdose of opium. Since Mūḥammad Khudābandah was the only surviving prince Shah Īsmā'il II was succeeded by him.[38]

Khudābandah was a weak ruler and his regimen was weakened internally by the increasing conflicts between the Qizilbāsh tribes and their defections as well as the contest of succession between his sons. Externally the Uzbegs were encroaching on the North Eastern frontiers

while the Ottoman Turks had their sway upto Tabriz in the west.

Ākbar was the chief sympathiser of Shah Khudā-bandah in his weak position and wanted to help him against the betraying Qizilbāsh. Khudābandah abdicated the throne in Zilqada 995/October, 1587 in favour of his second son ʿAbbās Mirzā who was destined to be the greatest of Ṣafavī rulers.[39] He was about seventeen years old at the time of his accession.

SHAH ʿABBĀS I

The young Shah ʿAbbās I had many problems to face during his early career. The foremost of which was the rivalry between ʿAlī Qūlī Khan Shāmlū and Mūrshid Qūlī Khan Ūstājlū, both of Qizilbāsh order. The former was the guardian of Shah ʿAbbās I who was worsted by the latter and thus Mūrshid Qūlī Khan became his guardian by force of arms. No sooner a proclamation of the accession of Shah ʿAbbās I was issued the Shah killed Mūrshid Qūlī Khan and secured the reins of power in his hand. The Qizilbāsh domination thus came to an end and Shah ʿAbbās was free from opposition.[40]

During the reign of Shah Khudābandah, the Turkish invasions were strongly retaliated by prince Hamza Mirzā the elder brother of Shah ʿAbbās I. But the death of

Hamza Mirzā encouraged the Ottoman Turks to invade Iran again. In the year 996/1588 Farhād Pāshā in alliance with the governor of Sherwān invaded Qarā Bagh and captured Ganja. At the same time the Uzbegs were encroaching upon the North Eastern Iran. Shah ʿAbbās I was weak so he entered into peace with Turks in 998/1590 loosing Tabriz, Sherwān, Georgia, Lorestan and the ports of Caspian to Turky.[41]

The strong Uzbeg Chief ʿAbdullah II never delayed in making use of the situation and invading Iran. By 1002/1593 he had taken away and plundered Herat, Mashhad, Nishabur, Sabzevar, Tun, Tabas and many other cities in Khorasan. Only in 1006/1597 Shah ʿAbbās I was able to drive those Uzbegs back from the territories of Iran. For many years to come the Uzbegs could not repeat their annual raids.[42]

One of the important measures taken by Shah ʿAbbās I was the reorganisation of his military on European lines. The Iranian military was trained by Sherley brothers and under the command of Allah Verdī Beg. At the same time he formed a new organisation of King Lovers 'Shah Seven' which served as the substitute of Qizilbāsh.[43]

Fifteen years after his succession Shah ʿAbbās I was strong enough to restore what he had lost till then. In 1001/1603 he led a campaign against Turky and took back

Tabriz on 5th Jumada II 1012/1st October, 1603. He then took Irvan and Sherwan. In 1012/1604 Sulṭān Mūḥammad III of Ottoman Empire died and was succeeded by Sultan Āḥmad who sent a large Turkish force against Iran. The Turkish army was defeated in the vicinity of Lake Ūrmiya. By this time Shah ʿAbbās I could restore Azarbaijan, Kordestan, Baghdad, Musal, Dayar-e-Bakr Karbala and Najaf. Peace was concluded in 1012/1604. The frontiers of Iran with its extended territories were agreed by Turky.[44]

The reign of Shah ʿAbbās I is marked not only by his conquest in the west and North East but also with the major administrative reforms introduced by him. He encouraged the English and European merchants in Persia which augmented her international trade. He maintained international relations with the contemporary states of the East and West.[45] He appointed Sir Robert Sherley as his roving ambassador to European countries.[46] His fraternal relations with the Emperor Jahāngīr were quite interesting.[47] He exercised a good influence in protecting the Sultans of the Deccan.[48] It was by Shah ʿAbbās I that Mashhad was declared a place of Shi'ite pilgrimage.[49] He died on 25th Jumada I 1038/10th January, 1629 at the age of 60 and after ruling for 43 years.[50] It was during his time that Ṣafavī Iran reached its zenith.

SHAH ṢAFĪ

Shah ʿAbbās was succeeded, according to his own will, by his grandson Sam Mirzā. Sām Mirzā on his accession assumed the name of his unfortunate father and occupied the throne of Iran as Shah Ṣafī.[51] Thirteen years of his reign were weak and unsuccessful. He paid much attention to the execution of every possible claimant to the throne but he lost much of the territories conquered by Shah ʿAbbās I. The Ottoman Chief Murād IV maintained an offensive policy against Iran. By 1039/1630 he captured Musal, Kordestan and Hamadan. In 1035/1626 Murād led another campaign in North Western Iran and took over Irvan and Tabriz. In 1048/1638 Murād led a second Campaign against Baghdad by way of Musal and captured it. A peace treaty was concluded according to which Baghdad was surrendered to Turky and Irvan was restored to Iran.[52]

Uzbegs were another menace to the solidarity of Ṣafavī Iran under the leadership of Imām Qūlī who invaded Khorasan and got the city of Qandahar evacuated by the Iranian governor.[53] It was a period when Qandahar was lost both by Iran and Hindustan. Shah Ṣafī died at Kashan on 12th Safar 1052/16th May, 1642 and was succeeded by his son Shah ʿAbbās II.

SHAH ʿABBĀS II

Shah Ṣafī was succeeded by his ten year old son Shah ʿAbbās II in Safar 1052/May, 1642. He was the last of the Ṣafavī rulers during whose reign Iran was strong and prosperous. On her Western Frontiers Iran had little trouble with Turky ever since the peace settlement with Shah Ṣafī. In the North East the Khanate of Uzbegs was weakened due to internal discord on the one hand and the Russian oppression on the other. One Uzbeg prince and even one Uzbeg Khan Nazir Mūḥammad sought the protection of Shah ʿAbbās. They were treated with unusual generosity and honour.[54] Shah ʿAbbās II maintained good diplomatic relations with Hindustan and the Sultanates of the Deccan.[55] In Safar 1059/February, 1649 he restored Qandahar so very tactfully that the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahān found it difficult to regain it either by diplomacy or by use of force.[56]

In 1074/1664 he had to face Russian raid at Mazandaran. He could successfully retaliate it. Shah ʿAbbās II encouraged art and architecture as well as commerce. Twenty five years of his reign were a period of peace and prosperity. He died at Farhabad (Mazandaran) in Rabiʿ I 1077/1668.

SHAH SULAYMĀN

Shah ʿAbbās II was succeeded by his eldest son Shah Sulaymān in 1077/1668. He was twenty years of age at the time of his succession but was not trained in statecraft as he "had been kept immured in the anderun". He was also blinded while a prince. Though he ruled for over twenty eight years till 1105/1694 his reign indicated the beginning of a placid decline of the Ṣafavī dynasty.[57]

THE COUNTRIES

Sec. 3 Golconda

LOCATION AND EXPANSE

The territories of Golconda Sultanate were carved along the Eastern Coast of the Southern Peninsula between 13°N. lat. to 19°N. lat. and between 77.4°E lon. to 84.7°E lon. The territorial limits of the Sultanate at one time or the other, expanded in the North even beyond 20°N. lat. and were marginally unstable in the South West.[58]

The expanse of the Sultanate is distinguished more by its simple geographical and anthropological conditions like soil, climate, genetics and language, than by geomorphic and physiographical features. The frontiers of Golconda were more stable, in the East, from St. Thome to

Kalinga Ghat Near Chilka Lake along the Bay of Bengal. In the North, it ran along the Southern banks of Godavari River from Srikakulam to Kaulas. In the West, it shared a common border with the Sultanate of Bijapur and stretched over sarkars of Kaulas and Taraf Karnatak or Arcot. In the South it had a fluctuating border somewhat stable at St. Thome.[59]

PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION

The geopolitical personality of Golconda evolved gradually out of the Bahmani Province (taraf) of Tilangana ultimately to grow to its full size by stretching over the entire area of Telugu speaking region, marginally covering parts of Tamil, Oriya, Marathi and Kanarese regions which were generally bilingual with Telugu.[60]

The main architect of the kingdom and more so of its provincial organisation was Sulṭān Qūlī Quṭb Shah who had occasions to gain insight of that region both as the Bahmani Governor (Tarafdar) of the Province as well as an autonomous ruler of the same region for about forty seven years.[61] Some other Provinces and minor territories were added to it by his successors from Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah.[62]

The kingdom comprised thirty seven provinces or sarkars which were further sub-divided into parganas. There

had been altogether five hundred and seventeen paraganas.[63] A village or dih was a basic unit. A larger village or town was called a qasbah. The new settlements around big towns and cities had developed as sub-urban localities (haveli). Almost all the provinces had more than one stronghold (qila).[64]

Sec. 4 Iran

LOCATION AND EXPANSE

The political map of Iran was drastically changed by the great Ṣafavī revolution from 1502 and reached its climax during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās the great 985/1587 to 1038/1629.

In the North-West its frontiers ran from Black Sea to Caspian Sea almost along the river Terek then bordering around the Caspian Sea upto River Atrak on its Eastern Coast. It stretched upto Hazarasb and Balkh along the Southern banks of Oxus.

In the South-West the frontiers of Ṣafavī Iran ran from Kharput to Najaf and then to Bahrain and Oman. The extreme South Eastern border was naturally carved by the Oman Sea and Persian Gulf.

On the West it started from the Eastern Coast of Black Sea ran Southward to Irvan and Musal from there to Arran and Kharput.

In the East it ran from Balkh to Bamian and then running Southward it shared a common frontier with the Mughal province of Kabul and then Sindh.

The map of Safavi Iran stretched between 37°E to 69.5°E longitude and from 23°N. to 44.5°N. latitude. The actual territories on the Western and Eastern borders were somewhat unstable. In any case the longitudinal and latitudinal location specified above remained unaltered.[65]

PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION

The provincial organisation of Iran had been changing time and again in the course of her long history yet it developed into a traditionally sustained topography further coupled with physiographic factors. Most of the cities and towns were classical. There were certain classical regional divisions of the country such as Iraq-e-Arab, Iraq-e-Ajam, Azarbaijan, Khorasan and Seistan etc., the expanse of which was always elastic and variable.[66] Such divisions developed into an established tradition in Iranian provincial organisation and were therefore continued during the times of Ṣafavis as well. The Minor divisions were the

towns (Qasbāt) villages (Qaryāt) and cities (S̄hahr). Larger administrative units equivalent to district were called vilāyat. Most of the villages, towns and cities of a vilāyat would have quite a good number of strongholds (Qilas).[67] It appears that various towns and forts were having an overflowing population which resulted in new settlements around them called Havelī of a town or a fort.

Many of the provinces or regional divisions and sub-divisions were having dependencies (Tawabi) attached to them as Chikhursa'd (Irvan) Sherwan and Seistan had. Similarly Makran, Daghistan Rustumdar and Gurgan consisted of a number of dependencies (also see annexure D). Such dependencies constituted the feudal foundation of the empire which had always been a decisive factor in the general conduct of the state and in moulding its foreign policy.

Sec. 5 Ports and sea Routes

There had been heavy maritime traffic between Golconda and Iran and therefore both the regions had a good number of developed harbours. Those harbours occupied important position in the maritime traffic between the East and West.

PORTS OF GOLCONDA

The Eastern coast of Southern Peninsula forming

most of the Eastern territories of the Sultanate were traditionally divided into two coastal lines the one Gingili from Ganjam in the North to Rajahmundry in the South, and the other Coromandel from Masulipatam down to Negapatam far in the South. Both Gingili and Coromandel coasts had several harbours. The ports from South to North were Madras,[68] Pulicat,[69] Nizampatam,[70](Petapuli), Masulipatam,[71] Vizagapatam,[72] Bimlipatam,[73](Peddapally) Coringo[74] Vattara,[75] Pondy,[76] Manichapatam[77] and Kalingapatam[78] among which Masulipatam, Madras, Nizampatam and Vizagapatam were the major ports.

The main sea routes linking Iran and Golconda were not straight and direct as the coastal Golconda was facing Eastwards while coastal Iran stood farther in the North West facing South. The Western coasts of South India were occupied by ʿAdil Shahs. The oceanic routes from Iran to Golconda ran through the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea and then took a complete Eastward round of the South Indian peninsula to reach the harbours of Golconda. The ships moving on those sea routes had to halt at Iranian, South West Indian (ʿAdil Shāhī) and South Indian ports. Among West Indian and South Indian ports were (beginning from North to South) Daybol (Karachi) Chaoul, Dabhol, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, then turning from Cape Comorin upwards along the Eastern Coast they could halt at Negapatam,

Porto Novo, Tegnapatam and Fort St. Thomes (Mylapur).[79] On occasions some of the travellers had to take a round of the Peninsula from below Ceylon across Ponte De Galle.[80]

PORTS OF IRAN

In Ṣafavī Iran there were a score of ports and harbours which had been effectively functioning in sending off ships from Iran to the world around and also as naval stations for the international traffic of ships between the East and West. Some of the important shipping stations of Safavi Iran from West to East were Bandar-e-M'ashur[81] (in the North of the present Bandar-e-Shahpur) on the inland sea at the mouth of Euphrates-Tigris Delta, Bander-e-Dilam[82] Bander-i-Kharg[83] (or Khark), a small island near the coastal land of Kazerun, Bander-e-Rig,[84] Bander-e- Asaluyeh,[85] Bander-e-Rishahr,[86] Bander-e-Nakhilu,[87] Bander-e-Kung,[88] Bander-e-Abbas[89] (Gombroon), Hormuz[90] and Qishm,[91] all on the Persian Gulf. Those ports were located on the islands near the coastal lands.

Sec. 6 Trunk Routes

Civil engineering, capable of constructing roads and highways had already developed both in Iran and India about a couple of centuries before the period of our study. Earlier a trunk road from Delhi to the Deccan was got

constructed by Mūḥammad Tughlaq during the first quarter the 8th century Hijrah, which could sustain the traffic of entire population from Delhi to Deogirī. The tradition was revived on a more methodical basis by the Mughals and the Sultans of the Deccan.[92] There were many routes facilitating traffic between Iran and India as from Kabul in the North to Baluchistan across the Registan, Garamsier and down to Makran. The region being mountainous, extremely impassable for want of amenities of life discouraged heavy traffic through most of the inlets. There are instances of visitors crossing the border line through Registan and Garamsier. The dejected Emperor Hūmāyūn had proceeded to Persia from the same route.[93] But the main highway which allowed a heavy traffic was from the Mughal Subah of Kabul which developed right from the times of Mughal Emperor Bābur. It had become a highly developed route by the time of Āurangzeb. The route had the following main stations from Kabul to the Deccan right upto Āurangabad and Āḥmadnagar with the distances between stations-

a)	From Kabul to Lahore	300	krohs
b)	From Lahore to Ākbarabad	300	"
c)	From Akbarabad to Burhanpur	300	"
d)	From Burhanpur to Aurangabad	80	"
e)	From Aurangabad to Ahmadnagar	40	" [94]

This highway was guarded with outposts (Chaukis) at the distance of about twenty miles (10 krohs) each and there were about 102 stations with 14 main stations as listed here

1) Kabul
2) Peshwar
3) Lahore
4) Sehrand (Sar Hind)
5) Shahjahanabad
6) Akbarabad
7) Gwalior
8) Saronj
9) Between Saronj and Ujjain
10) Ujjain
11) Burhanpur
12) Between Burhanpur and Aurangabad
13) Aurangabad
14) Urdu-i-Mu'alla[95] (Daulatabad)

For the traffic from the Western coast there were trunk routes

i) from Surat to Aurangabad and from Aurangabad to Hyderabad via Nanded and Kaulas.

ii) from Panjim (Goa) to Hyderabad via Belgaum, Bijapur and Malkhed.[96]

THE PEOPLES

Sec. 7 Perspective

By the medieval period and especially by the

period of our study the peoples of the world belonging to various racial stocks had completed several courses of their migration from one part of the earth to the other. Such large scale migrations affected the structure of population at variable degrees. The mixing of races had various strata from ordinary, superficial social adjustment down to the deep based racial mutation which rendered the genetic analysis of a medieval society, like that of Golconda and Iran, a huge and difficult task. Nevertheless, according to Coon, both the peoples of Iran and Golconda belonged to the one and the same racio geographical group called Caucasoids, by 987/1492, but the region of Golconda had accumulated a good number of Australoids also.[97]

Sec. 8 Pattern of Golconda Population

The people of Golconda can be conveniently divided into (a) Native and (b) Foreign elements.

THE NATIVE ELEMENT

From religio-cultural point of view the native element of Golconda is broadly referred to as Hindus by medieval historians. But all of them were not Hindus as there were Brahmins, the Jains, the Lingāyats, and newly converted Christians. Buddhists have not been noted in Golconda but none of the above sects was without a profound

Buddhist impact. In addition to these major religious communities there had been hundreds of aboriginal tribes who had immigrated from various parts of Asia and the regions of Indian Ocean in ancient times. They adhered to different faiths, the link of some of which could be traced with the cults of vedic and Dravidian origin.[98]

The various castes and sects formed the basic structure of the society and had been working with a corporate spirit. They had joined in large guilds and social organisations at various levels from village to state. Most of the State guilds had their members not only all over India but even over the world abroad.[99]

THE DECCANIS

Later addition to the native people of the Deccan was that of Arab Muslims who had reached through the Coastal South from ancient times and also those who had come to the Deccan during the Tūghlaq period and were naturalised. They were called the Deccanis. They had mixed up with the local people and joined them in all walks of life. They were Sunnis with a mystic aptitude generally belonging to the Qadirite order (silsilah) of muslim Ṣufis. They were conversant with the regional languages and had developed a separate Indo-Persian dialect called Deccani.[100]

THE FOREIGN ELEMENT

Among the foreigners there had been men from different countries who had been either naturalised or had been staying in the Eastern Deccan for longer spaces of time.

They may be classified into the following groups:

i) The Iranians or Āfāqis:

They mostly constituted the nobility while 80% of the supervisory staff was from Iranian stock.

ii) The Turks or Turkmans:

They were either militarimen[101] or slaves.[102]

iii) The Abyssinians (Ḥabas̄his):

The Abyssinians who could have risen to the rank of nobility during the times of Bahmanis maintained a position in the Qutb S̄hāhī nobility as well. Malik Mansur Khan Ḥabas̄hī was first appointed a vizir and was subsequently promoted as Mir Jumla.[103] Some of the Abyssinians were warriors (Jangju) and were given a place in the seventh rank of the Majlis.[104] The rest were slaves (Ḡhulam).[105]

iv) Afghans or Pathans:

They were exclusively warriors.[106]

v) Arabs:

The term Arab excluded Sayyids (Sadat) who were also of Arabian origin. Sayyids were of a much respected class of Arabian origin and were either teachers, leaders or nobles of highest rank. The Sayyids hailing from Iran were all Shiahs.

The other Arabs should not have necessarily been Shiahs. Most of them were warriors. They had their place in the seventh rank of the Majlis with the Turks, the Pathans, the Brahmins and others.[107]

vi) Irāqis:

Men from Irāq were not many but they were expert technicians as Architects (Miʿmar), Artists (Naqqash), Physicians (Ḥukama), Soldiers.[108]

vii) Armenians:

They were all Christians and were generally physicians, civil engineers and architects. They seem to have settled in Golconda in a considerable number.[109]

viii) Georgians or Girjis:

Sometimes they are further sub classified as Caucasians (qafqazi) or Circassians (Chirkas). The Persian slave poet Kaukabi Girji who had come to Golconda for good was Circassian.[110] The Georgians were mostly slaves.[111]

ix) Tajiks:

They were treated on par with Turks.[112]

x) Dutch (Valandiz):

They had settled on the Coromandel coast and were carrying trade by instituting their factories. They promoted overseas trade of Golconda.[113]

xi) Danes (Dighmār):

Danes too had been carrying their business on the Coastal parts of the Sultanate and were promoting overseas trade of India with the regions of Indian Oceans.[114]

xii) English (Āngriz):

The English merchants had started their business in Golconda with the beginning of the seventeenth century and had established their factories at St. Thome.[115]

xiii) Portuguese (Firangi):

The Portuguese were not much interested in Golconda and they had not included it in their Asiatic Empire, yet they had not totally avoided it. They had settled on the Coastal Sultanate to promote their trade with the regions of Indian Ocean.[116]

THE NATIVE ELITE

Among various castes and sects discussed above the Brahmins and then the Reddis constituted a native class which partook in Statecraft and administration. They commanded a two-fold hold in Golconda.[117] Firstly they had been having their immediate control over the Agrarian set up in the capacity of Nāyakvāris,[118] Manīvārs,[119] Deshpāndyas,[120] Kulkarnis,[121] Thalkarnis,[122] Desāis,[123] Patils,[124] Dharvis,[125] and others. Above them there were small Hindu potentates (sardārān-i-hunud) who had been commanding a considerable influence from olden days.[126] Secondly Hindu element occupied a place in the Quṭb Shāhī Majlis and held administrative positions as that of a State Secretary (Dabir)[127] or District Revenue Collector (Majmuādar)[128] or an Assessor (Sharḥ Navis).[129] During the last days of the kingdom the position of Chief Minister and Finance Minister were held by Ākkannā and Madannā. There are

instances of native people working as Havildārs, Mailmen (Harkārā) and similar other low ministerial and executive administration. The fact that the Persian knowing Brahmins were entitled to receive a handsome stipend suggests that the native people were encouraged at ministerial level of administration.[130]

The peasantry, the artisans, the industrialists, businessmen, artists, bankers, financers, architects and physicians were all predominantly natives.[131] The leaders of these walks had their connections with the nobility and access to the court.

THE NOBILITY

All the sarkars and their sub-divisions were farmed out to the nobles of Iranian origin. It is a peculiar aspect of Quṭb Shāhī administration that the agrarian system which was a continuation of the magnificent system implemented by the Kakatiyas and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, remained basically unchanged. In principle everything belonged to the Sultans who had been farming out various administrative divisions of the Sultanate to his nobles of foreign (predominantly Iranian) origin. Such nobles were receiving a part of land revenue from the peasantry through landlords by way of Peshkash. They were maintaining law and order in their jurisdiction with casual coercion.

They coerced landlords specially for the payment of land revenue due with them.[132] The actual ownership of land remained with the indigenous landlord. A close examination of this situation reveals the relations of the native and the foreign sections of population with their functional jurisdiction within the total demographic structure. The role of Iranian element in the statecraft and international politics of Golconda can be well appreciated through a structural observation of Quṭb Shāhī Majlis.

MAJLIS

Quṭb Shāhī Majlis was a bicameral institution, the lower chamber of which was called Majlis-i-Daulat Maḥal which was mostly private of Sultan.[133] The upper chamber was the Grand Majlis (variably attributed as Supreme or grand etc.) was the chief assembly of the State. The structure of Majlis was more highly dominated by Iranis. It is surprising that not only those who were naturalised in Golconda had been appointed as members of Majlis but even the foreigners who were ambassadors or visitors had their seats in the forefront of the Majlis. A specific instance of a Majlis during the reign of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah is briefly outlined to elucidate the dominance of Iranian element in the body.

i) The first row of the Majlis was occupied by about one hundred persons who were the choicest of the elite

and who were closely associated with the Sultan. Such members of the first rank were called the Royal members (Majlisiyān-i-Huzur). All those members were Iranians and Shahs with a few exceptions.[134]

ii) The ambassadors of Iran and Hindustan and of other major countries sat in the second row.

iii) In the third row there stood the members of the Majlis-i-Daulat Maḥal which included mostly the descendants of the members of the Grand Majlis.

iv) In the fourth row there stood the Silḥdārs and Ḥavildārs. Most of them were Iranians.

v) In the fifth row there stood the Sar Naubats, and the men of Royal retinue. Most of them were Iranians.

vi) In the sixth row place was assigned to the Turk and Abyssinian militarimen; the brave Deccanis and the clever Brahmins.

LANGUAGE

Linguistically Golconda was a land of Telugu speaking people. Telugu was the only developed rich and effective medium of expression with a myriad dialects in various parts of the Sultanate.[135]

Quṭb Shāhī monarchs like Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah and Muḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah were well conversant with Telugu. Telugu literature made a good progress in Golconda.[136]

The language of court, nobility and administration was Persian. The writing castes of native people especially Brahmins learnt Persian for which they were entitled to receive a stipend.[137] The Quṭb Shāhī Court and the palaces of the Sultans and nobles were the rendezvous of Iranian poets literati historians and mujtahids.

The Deccanis spoke and wrote Deccani language which developed with profound literary accomplishment and contributed a lot to the mystic literature.[138] They devoted their talents to this idiom. No doubt the total contribution of Golconda to Persian language and literature is large and valuable from historical point of view yet its contribution to Deccani is more creative and real. It holds a genuine testimony to the synthesis and amalgamation of Golconda and Iranian thoughts, sentiments, faiths, values, idioms and culture.[139]

There had been many Europeans speaking different European languages settled on the Coromondal coast. They had to have their dealings with the local people as well as with the nobility and the court. The situation necessitated

them to learn Telugu and Persian or at least Persian. They needed translators and interpreters. There had been many persons native and foreign in Golconda who knew more than one language and could serve as interpreters (or dubash).[140]

The sarkars bordering Maharashtra and Karnatak parts of ʿAdil Shāhī Sultanate were bilingual where Marathi, Kanarese and Tamil were spoken.

RELIGION

As Shi'ism was State Religion the nobility was predominantly Shiʿah. Religious discussions with Shi'ite point of view were conducted in the court specially from the times of Muḥammad Quṭb Shah onwards. It is not known whether the Deccanis and other Sunnis had any say in such discussions.[141]

Under the influence of Shiʿah nobles the Shiʿah population concentrated in urban areas. The Sunni elite was pushed aside and was mostly detached from the body politic. The Deccanis and the Sunnis turned to the Sufi monasteries (k̲hanqahs), where they received their religious education, spiritual guidance and chances for their cultural pattern to flourish.

Sec. 9 Pattern of Iranian Population

The Ṣafavī Iran had a population composed of

heterogenous elements which were fairly crossed by each other. Traditionally the Iranian Caucasoids were supposed to be that branch of Aryans which shared a common race, language and religion with the Aryans of India.[142] They had migrated from the regions of Turkistan and had thickly settled in almost all the parts of Iran. They are supposed to be the biggest and the largest components of Iranian demography. They were subjugated and ruled by the Greeks, the Mongols the Turkmans and the Arabs which had given a peculiar shape to the structure of Iranian population by the medieval period. In addition to the above elements, there were, of course, many tribal communities in Azarbaijan, Kordistan, Kirman and Khorasan which should have constituted the major bulk of rural population.[143]

The civilised or urban Iran under Ṣafavis had the following main elements of its population, the proportion of which varied from province to province.

The Indo-Aryans
The Arabs
The Turkman

THE INDO-ARYANS

The Indo-Aryan element of the population, being the earliest of the emigrants was, given to agriculture, pastoral occupations and traditional industries. Their social, economic,

and occupational set up was determined by a hierarchy of Iranian feudalism in which too they had a considerable position and strength. Specially the Iranian peasantry, being the main instrument of procuring state revenue was vertically affected under the entire feudal hierarchy.[144]

There had been many traditional industries in Iran which had developed by the families of artisans to such a large scale as to affect the foreign markets of the East and West. It had been a peculiar feature of Iranian Industry that it developed in close embracement with art and painting. Whether it was glass or gold industry or that of Iron or Clay, a piece of Iranian industrial product was so nicely patterned and richly adorned that it also served as a piece of art.

The Iranian industrial communities were not bound to adhere to their professions by caste or cult as it was the case in Golconda. Their occupational engagement owed mainly to the economic factor which was conducive for the development of one or the other sort of localised industry in different parts of the country. It was the economic geography and localisation which gave Iranian industry a traditional character.

The traditional industry had paved way for traditional bazars all through the country and stretching

even to the overseas regions. Those bāzārs were governed by the Indo-Aryan Iranis, the Arabs and the European merchants.[145]

THE ARABS

Ever since the conquest of Iran by the Arabs in the seventh century the Iranian population and more so its religious, linguistic and idealogical mind underwent drastic changes in attunement with their Arab Īslāmic counterparts. The Iranian races were considerably crossed by the Arabs particularly in the noble families. For, after the advent of Īslām the Arabs particularly the Sayyids were regarded as superior race. That was a situation at least by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Firdausi's Pho! Fie! spittling against Arabs was not seen during the period under study.[146] Many of the Sayyid families had settled in different parts of Iran and were commanding high respect from the indigenous people.[147] Even the royal families preferred to enter into matrimonial relations with Sayyids.[148]

The Sayyids occupied a distinguished position in society as religious leaders, preceptors, educationists, diplomats and statesmen. They had their seats in the Majlis also. Most of them were scholars and men of letters of high stature and dominated the intellectual society.[149]

THE TURKMANS

The Turkman tribal complex is one of the most important aspect of the history of the Middle East. Their tribal orders were all governed by an unwritten law yet kept them struggling for their survival with their distinct individuality. Many of them had migrated to Iran being attracted by her pastures and protective highlands. They were a belligerent community used to hardihood. There had been traditional principles of their alliance and disalliance and they were mostly hostile to each other. Their hostile sentiments were generally exploited by the ruling dynasties. The Turkman tribes served as the backbone of Iranian militia. They could attain high position in Iranian nobility and had their apanages mostly in the parts of Azarbaijan. The Aq Quyunlus and the Qara Quyunlus rose to the status of the rulers of Iran challenging and defeating the Jalayirs, the C̄hag̱htāis and the S̄herwānshahs.

The Turkman tribes had settled not only in Iran but also in Ottoman Empire and in the regions of Transoxiana. They were originally orthodox Sunnis but the clans which were the devotees of the Ṣafavī household gradually became orthodox Shi'ahs and joined the Qizilbās̱h or Red Head movement an Iranian counterpart of the Turkish Janissary (yeni-cheri) movement [150] formed the Qizilbās̱h order.[151]

It was but natural that the Turkmans were dominating the Ṣafavī nobility.

THE NOBILITY

The structure of the Ṣafavī nobility was basically the same, as built up by Shah Īsmā'il, at least throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[152] It reached a point of maturity by the time of Shah 'Abbās I. There had been two orders of nobility in Ṣafavī Iran the one being the order of the State nobility and the other was that of Crown lands (Khassa Sharifa).[153] Even the Crown nobility had important role in national and international policy and its members could be deputed as Elchis to the countries abroad. No doubt such Elchis should have been the monarch's personal and private but their role was no less than that of a formal State Ambassador.[154]

The Ṣafavī nobility was an elaborate order having many vertical and horizontal considerations in its structure. It had the nobles, the officials, the representatives of various clans, the poets, the literati, the physicians and the artists in its ranks and lines. It may not be said in definite terms if all such elements had a place in Majlis, nevertheless they could be conveniently recognised as nobles and the elite of the Iranian society.

The grand nobles (Umarā-i-ʿUzzam) of the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I were divided into two broad categories. The first category comprised various clans (Tawaif) of the Red Heads (Qizilbāsh).

The second was also drawn from the same stock and was honoured with the titles of Khans and Sultans. It constituted the Crown land nobility (mulāzimān-i-Khassa Sharifa). The average strength of the first category was about seventy two and that of the second twenty one. Such nobles were generally assigned responsibility like that of a governor (ḥakim) of a province or a stronghold. The chief of the state administration after Shah was the Prime Minister or Vazir-i-Aʿzam who was further assisted by several vizirs. The next important administrative categories were those of Grand Accountants (Mustaufian-i-ʿUzzam) appointed throughout the state.[155]

LANGUAGE

Iran is the home of Aryan languages with casual semitic, Turkish, Dravidian and other sounds or dialects like Turki, Gilaki, Luri, Bakhtiari, Kurdi, Mazandarani, Baluchi, Arabic, Turkmani Armenian, Assyrian and Persian which are still spoken in one part or the other of the country.[156] Persian language developed as the most advanced and effective medium for all educational, scientific,

administrative and political purposes, imbibing a profound influence of Arabic and yet assimilating influences of all the other dialects in variable proportions.

The brief and flexible structure of its grammar, its assimilative character and euphony made it equally popular throughout contemporary India, regions of Transoxiana and Turky. In that way it also functioned as a medium of international intercourse. Despite its linguistic accomplishment international popularity and all other merits it was, as it is, the language of urban population. Even today not more than fifty per cent of Iranians speak Persian language.[157] Keeping in view the rate of urban growth in Iran it may be safely inferred that not more than one fourth of the people of Safavi Iran spoke Persian. Nevertheless in the context of international relations the role of Persian is almost equibalanced both in Golconda and Iran. The other languages except perhaps Arabic Turki had but little and indirect effect on one or the other aspect of relations.

Arabic and Turki, which had been usurping the educational and administrative jurisdiction of Persian language in its home had been receding to make room for it during the Safavi period.[158]

RELIGION

Religiously Ṣafavī Iran was an Islamicised

country with a predominant Sunni element which speedily changed its character under the pressurising state religion which was Shi'ah faith. The process of overbalancing the Sunni element by the Shi'ahs was multifarious.[159]

Apart from the muslims there had been adherents of other faiths of a pre-Islamic origin. Among such faiths mention may be made of Zoroastrianism the adherents of which were variably known as the Parsis, Atishparast, Gabr, or Majus who were all fire worshippers. They held an ancient faith the influence of which was considerably assimilated by Islam in Iranian environment.[160]

The tribals of Azarbaijan Kordistan, Loristan, Baluchistan and Khorasan adhered to different obscure faiths which have not been recorded in details. Judaism and Christianity too existed in North Western and Southern Iran from ancient times. Christians had their role both in the national and international politics of the Ṣafavī period.[161]

References and Notes

1 The Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan founded by ʿAlau'ddīn Ḥasan Gangu Bahman Shah in 738/1347 stretched over the Deccan Plateau from Sea to Sea. It covered at least three major linguistic regions of Marathi, Telugu and Kanarese. The kingdom broke up by the end of the tenth century Hijrah and its various parts were taken over by five Bahmani nobles after whose names their dynasties continued in the Deccan during the subsequent two centuries. Those proverbially known five dynasties of the Deccan may be tabulated as

1. ʿĀdil Shahs of Bijāpūr 895/1489 to 1097/1686
2. Nizām Shahs of Āḥmednagar 896/1490 to 1005/1600
3. ʿImād Shahs of Berar 896/1490 to 968/1560
4. Barid Shahs of Bidar 898/1492 to 990/1582
5. Quṭb Shahs of Golconda 924/1518 to 1098/1687

2. For details see Z̈iau'ddīn Āḥmed S̄hakeb: 'The Black Sheep Tribe from Lake Van to Golconda' Ītihās Vol.II No.2

3 T.Q.S. f 24(a) to 25(b); S̄hērwānī (Q) 9

4 See ch.II Sec. 5

5 Z̈iau'ddīn Āḥmad S̄hakeb op cit. 60-65

6 See ch.IV, Sec. 5

7 T.Q.S. f 24 a - 25 a; S̄herwānī (Q) 20-21

8 T.Q.S. f 26 a ; S̄herwānī (Q) 21-22

9 T.Q.S. f 27 a - 46 a ; Sherwānī (Q) ch. I, Sec. 2

10 T.Q.S. f 49 b - 50 a ; Sherwānī (Q) 37

11 For the details of the career of Jamshīd see T.Q.S. f 50 b - 59 b ; Sherwānī ch. II

12 T.Q.S. f 60 b - 62 a ; Sherwānī 99

13 The so far known battle of Talikota has been correctly renamed as battle of Banīhattī by Sherwānī (Q) 137

14 T.Q.S. f 62 a - 102 b ; Sherwānī (Q) ch. III

15 T.Q.S. f 102 b - 136 a ; Sherwānī (Q) ch. IV

16 Sherwānī (Q) ch. V

17 Ḥadiqah 78

18 Ibid 167

19 Ibid 190

20 Ibid 231

21 ʿAmal III, 213 ; Ṭālqānī No.70

22 Ḥadiqah for his career upto 1053/1643 also see Sherwānī (Q) ch. VI

23 See ch. II, Sec. 41

24 Ẓamimah from f 183 (b) provides a vivid account of the reign of Abul Ḥasan, also see Sherwānī (Q) ch. VII.

25 There are quite a few works on the life and ancestry of Shaikh Ṣafīu'ddīn Īsḥaq of Ārdabil. The foremost of which is Ṣifwat u'sṣafā of Tawakkul Ibn Īsmāʿil alias Ibn Bazzaz which was written at the instance of Shaikh Ṣadru'ddīn Musa (d 795/1392). This work records the following genealogy of Shaikh Ṣafīu'ddīn Īsḥaq back up to ʿAlī.

1) Shaikh Ṣafīu'ddīn Īsḥaq b 2) Āminu'ddīn Jibrail b 3) Ṣaleḥ b 4) Quṭubu'ddīn b 5) Ṣalaḥu'ddīn Rashid b 6) Mūḥammad ul Ḥafiẓ b 7) ʿA'uz ul Khavas b 8) Firoz Shah b 9) Mūḥammad b 10) Sharaf Shah b 11) Mūḥammad b 12) Ḥasan b 13) Īsmāʿil b 14) Ībrāhim b 15) Jaʿfar b 16) Mūḥammad b 17) Īsmāʿil b 18) Mūḥammad b 19) Āḥmad ul ʿArabī b 20) Ābu Mūḥammad Qāsim b 21) Ābul Qāsim Ḥamzah b 22) Āl Imām Musa Āl Kāẓim b 23) Āl Imām Jaʿfar u'sṣādiq b 24) Āl Imām Mūḥammad Āl Bāqir b 25) Āl Imām Zainu'abbidīn b 26) Āl Imām Āl Ḥusayn b 27) Āl Imām ʿAlī Ibn-i-Ābī Ṭālib

Among other sources of this genealogy Āḥsanu'ttawārīkh, Silsilat-u'nnasab-i-Ṣafaviyah and various abridged versions of Ṣifwat u'sṣafa may be consulted. Also see Browne IV 32-37; Sarwar ch. II.

26 Āḥsan u'ttawārīkh of Ḥasan Beg Rūmūlū, 221-222; Browne IV 106; Sykes II 159 ; Sarwar 35

27 H.S. III P. IV 28, 32, 34; A.A.A. 20, 21; Sarwar 39. For a full account of the early career and rise of Shah Īsmāʿil the excellent study of Gulam Sarwar: History of Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavi may be read.

28 Browne IV 68-69, 74, 93, 236; Sykes II 159, 167, 171

29 Browne (IV 15-24, 54) has given an excellent account of Shah Ismā'il's Shi'ite fanaticism.

30 Browne IV 12

31 Ibid 64-65; Sykes II 160; Sarwar 60

32 Ibid 66 ; Ibid ; R.I. ch. II and appendix B; Sarwar 66

33 Ibid 75 ; Ibid 163 ; Sarwar 78

34 Āftabchī 54 ; also see the monograph of Ray, Sukumar: Humāyūn in Persia

35 R.I. ch. III

36 Browne 95-96

37 Here it may be interesting to note that according to Shaikh 'Abdul 'Alī bin Maḥmūd Ṭablaqī, Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah had endowed the Sultanate of Golconda to the holy shrine of Mashhad and Sultan Sulaymān Mirza Ṣafavi was appointed the valī of the endowed Sultanate with his station at Mashhad by Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavi. This act has not been testified by an official document, it may not therefore be taken as politically significant (Fihrist-i-Kutub Khana-i-Mashhad-i-Muqaddus II, Fiqh 273-274) also see Shamsullah (I) 171-172.

38 Browne IV 99 ; Sykes II 170

39 A.A.A. 272 Ibid 100 ; Ibid 171; R.I. 51

40 The best account of Shah ʿAbbās I is contained in his court Chronicle A.A.A. For his subjucating the Qizilbāsh see A.A.A. Passim; Browne IV 103, Sykes II 173.

41 A.A.A. 273 Browne IV 104; Sykes II 173

42 Browne IV 105; Sykes II 174

43 Browne IV 106 ; Sykes II 176

44 Browne IV 106 ; Sykes II 177

45 A.A.A. passim

46 Sykes II 176

47 R.I. 68

48 For details see below ch. II, Sec. 20-22

49 Browne IV 109 ; Sykes II 181

50 A.A.A. 757 Browne IV 103

51 Browne IV 111

52 Sykes II 211

53 Sykes II 210

54 Ibid 212

55 For details see below ch. II, Sec. 38

56 R.I. 110

57 Sykes 212

58 The boundaries given here are tentative. For a full discussion on the territorial expanse of Golconda see map and note on map at Annexure C

59 See map and note on map at **Annexure** C

60 See note on map of Golconda at Annexure C

61 Sultan Quli was appointed as the Tarafdar of Tilangana in 901/1496 (Sherwani: Q. p.9) and he died as an autonomous ruler of Golconda on 2nd Jamadi-ul-Sani 940/4th September, 1543 (T.Q.S. f 39).

62 See note on map of Golconda at Annexure C

63 Ibid

64 These terms have been well defined by Wilson in his glossary of 'Indian Judicial and Administrative Terminology' and have frequently occured in most of Qutb Shahi documents preserved in the State Archives Andhra Pradesh and in contemporary chronicles. Also see note on the map of Golconda at Annexure C

65 The Historical Atlas of Iran draws the Eastern border line touching Bulkh and Kabul and leaving both outside the Safavi jurisdiction; whereas Muhammad Mufid Mustaufi includes Balkh within Safavi territories and extends the frontiers even beyond Talqan in the East and Hazarasb in the North East. Similarly he includes Lake Van, and Armenia upto Arzanjan in Safavi Iran (vide Ausaf. folios 115, 132, 137, 152 and 212). Iran Atlas plate No.21. See note on the map of Iran Annexure D.

66 Āṣaf. ff 15, 56, 111, 135; Mumalik f 90(b) also see their expanse in various narrations of Maṭlaʿ and H.S.

67 Āṣaf. ff 1-13

68 Early Records p. 61-84; Short travels: Fryer p. 46-47; Thevenot p. 142; Scott Atlas plate No.9; Streynsham Master Vol. I p. 241

69 Thevenot p. 148; Bowrey p. 51.53; Schouten Vol. I p. 489; Hamilton Vol. I p.369; Scott Atlas plate No.9 Relation p.3

70 Ḥadiqah p. 167; Bowrey p.53 and 55; Times Atlas pp. 77-78 T.Q.Shah (Briggs) p. 112

71 T.Q. S. (Briggs) pp. 14-70; Ḥadīqāh 71-76; Talqani pp. 96-97 Streynsham Master Vol. I pp. 265-297; Bowrey p. 60-64; Schouten Vol. I p.91; Hamilton Vol. I p. 370; Mackenzie pp. 88-99 Scott Atlas plate 24; Waqaiʿ dated 8th Muharram 1072/24th August 1661; dated 23rd Safar 1072/ 8th October, 1661. SAAP.

72 Vizagapatam is also known by other names as Inzapatam, Bizipatam, Vasingepatam Bowrey pp. 123; Consultations p. 170

73 Bowrey pp. 123, 124; Schouten Vol. I p. 493 Streynsham Master Vol. I p. 298; II 72 n 2; p. 94, 115 Thevenot p. 148 Scott Atlas plate No.26

74 Bowrey pp. 123

75 Ibid

76 Ibid p 124

77 Ibid

78 Hadiqah pp. 94, 144, 168, 242; Consultations 1685 p. 166; Bowrey pp. 124, f.n.1

79 All the ports between Iran and Golconda were on the coastal kingdom of Adil Shahs and round Cape Comorin were visited by Thevenot and Careri

80 Travernier Book I p. 199

81 Aūṣāf f 240; Naqshah , C.H.I. pp. 529-33

82 Aūṣāf f 240; Wilson pp. 5, 72 and map; Iran Atlas plate 9-15, 19, 20.

83 Aūṣāf f 240; pp. 51, 179-83, and map; Iran Atlas plates 22, 23

84 Aūṣāf f 240; Wilson pp. 41, 140-41 and map; C.H.I. pp. 93; Careri p. 196

85 Aūṣāf f 240

86 Aūṣāf f 240; Wilson pp. 72-74 and map, Naqsha ; Iran Atlas plates 13, 15

87 Aūṣāf f 240; Wilson p. 140 and map, Naqsha

88 Aūṣāf f 240; Naqshah.

89 A[illegible] f 240; Wilson pp. 11, 140, 151, 152 and map, Bowrey p. 216; Careri p. 242; Tavernier p. 1-4; C. H. I. pp. 8, 26, 31, 81; Iran Atlas plates 21.24.

90 A[illegible] f 242; Wilson pp. 5, 10, 11, 19, 40-44; C. H. I. p. 8, 84; Iran Atlas plates No.21 Naqshah ; Bowrey P. Careri p. 196-199

91 A[illegible] f 245; Wilson pp. 5, 41, 44, 104 and map; Camb. H. Iran p. 299; Naqshah ; Iran Atlas plates Nos. 21 Careri p. 196

92 For the roads within Golconda kingdom see Sherwani: Qutb Shahi pp. 493-502 and also Thevenot pp. 150-151; Taverniers pp. 115-121 for general facilities on highways and maintenance of roads in Golconda see Bowrey pp. 117-118

93 R. I. p. 26; for details also see Ray pp. 64-65

94 A kroh is approximately equal to two English miles

95 Dastur f 2

96 Tavernier pp. 115-121 and map; Ibid p.147 and map

97 Coon 58

II THE PEOPLES

98 Persian chronicles refer to all classes of aboriginal Indians invariably as Hindus. The indigenous epigraphic sources bear ample

information on various orders of cult, castes and sub-castes of Andhradesa which was covered by the Qutb Shahi Sultanate. Later during the second half of the nineteenth century the Census reports of the British India also contain broad classifications of Hindu castes and tribes. The basis of information in the following discussion is mainly Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Thurston; the report on Census of Madras Presidency 1871 and the Castes and Tribes of HEH the Nizam's Dominion by Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan; various works of Dr. Von Furer - Haimendrof and some important contemporary records and inscriptions.

99 For an excellent account of the corporate life in Andhradesa, based on inscriptional sources, see the masterful work of Narasimha Rao. Though the work covers a period from 1000 A.D. to 1400 A.D. yet the contemporary and later sources attest that the corporate bodies of Andhradesa had not been completely deteriorated in Golconda; also see Madras Census 1871.

100 The issue of origin of Deccani idiom is much disputed. For authoritative discussions on it see Sharma; for the presence of Deccanis in Golconda see Haḍiqah 39, 77, 81, 85, 92, 106, 111-115, 142, 148, 210, 211, 258.

101 Ibid 46, 117, 137,221

102 Ibid 35, 42, 231

103 Ibid 21, 33

104 Ibid 46, 137

105 Ibid 35, 45, 71,77,110, 231

106 Ibid 77, 85, 106,107

107 Ibid 46, 77, 117

108 Ibid 26, 216, 21, 201, 191, 221

109 These facts have been ascertained from epitaphs of an Armenian cemetery located in the Southern outskirs of Hyderabad city near Uppuguda Railway Station and adjacent to a place called Chatri Naka. The earliest date inscribed on an epitaph is 1052/1642. A cross is engraved on each epitaph. One grave was excavated by the Director or Archaeology Andhra Pradesh in the presence of the present writer in June 1972. It discovered a community burial or thirteen persons. There had been about forty six tombs with large slabs of black stones each reading an epitaph in Armenian language.

110 R. Shura f 351

111 H. Salatin 35, 77

112 Ibid 205

113 For details see Chapter III Commercial Contacts. Also see Relations XXXVII to XLV, 51 to 65; Master 2 Vols. with introduction Bowrey 2, 3, 47, 54, 64, 66, 88, 98, 105; Terpstra; Schouten; Raychaudhuri

114 Hadiqah 245; Relations XXV, XLI, 2, 61, 92; SWD. 5

115 For details see ch.III Commercial Contacts; see Talqani Ali: 20; S. W. D 17 with plate; Relations XXIII and 6, 55; Bowrey 93; Fryer I, 124, 132; II, 115, 243; Wheeler and the enormous records of East India Company; Thevenot 135, 136, 330

116 Hadiqah 225; Relations XX XXV, 3-5; Bowrey 2, 38, 45; Fryer I, 107; Thevenot 135

117 The role of clever sect of Brahmins has been appreciated or cursed both by the Golconda elite and the European merchants. See Hadiqah 34, 44; Bowrey 9, 16, 17, 25, 36-39, 205; Fryer II, 39, 80, 101; Relations 14, 15, 55, 70, A

118 A Chief of a village, Wilson, Hadiqah 30, 36, 94; Bowrey 38, 39; Relations 2, 3, 11, 79; Fryer II, 36, 42 M.S.A. 5046; F. S. D.S. 33 T.Q. S. f 54 (b)

119 a) Maniwars: A Revenue accountant of a District, Wilson (Hadiqah., 28, 23, 48, 119, 168; Shakeb, 11, 115-117 M.S.C.)

120 Deshpandyas: A Revenue accountant of certain number of villages, Wilson

(Shakeb, 119-121
M.S.A. 5046; F. S. D.S. 33;
K.H.C. 49; M.S.A. 5044; F.S.D.S. 42

121 Kulkarnis: The Registrar and Accountant of a Village serving as a laison between the Government and the Cultivator, Wilson, K.H.C. 41; M.S.C; F.S. D.S. 40, 42; M.S.A. 5044

122 A Land lord or a Zamindar of a village M.S.A. 4045; F. S. D.S.36,37, 38, 39; K.H.C. 41; M.S.A. 5044 F.S. D.S.40,41, 42; K.H.C. 49

123 The superintendent of a Pargana and the Principal Revenue Officer of a District, Wilson (Shakeb, 13, 119; Fryer I, 301, II, 4-6, 101 A.F.C; K.C.B; K.H.C. 30; M.S.A. 5046; F.S.D.S. 33; K.H.C. 21, 11, 33, 34, K.C.B; M.S.A. 4045; F. S. D.S. 36, 37, 40, 42 M.S.A. 50, 44)

124 The Headman of a village who has the general control and management of the village affairs, Wilson (Shakeb, 120, 124 K.H.C. 45, 41).

125 A man who controls the weighing of grain, Wilson (Ḥadīqah 144; F.S. D.S.40)

126 T.Q.S. ff. 54(b); Ḥadīqah 94, 110, 119

127 During the reign of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah ʿItimād Rao Brahmin was appointed as Dabir

128 Narayan Rao Brahmin as Majmuʿdār and

129 Sarv Rao Brahmin as Sharḥ Navis. Ḥadīqah 36. For Hindu element in Majlis see Ḥadīqah p. 46

130 Zafrah 175

131 For an excellent account of various agricultural and industrial communities of Golconda see Dr. R. Narasimha Rao: Corporate life in Medieval Andhradesa, Hyderabad 1967

132 Relations 11, 32, 55-57, 81

133 Hadīqah 167, 226, the Majlisis of Daulat Mahal were much like the employees of the Khassa Sharifa of Iran.

134 Ibid 44

135 For details see Chanchiah and Bhujang Rao: History of Telugu literature, Calcutta (date not indicated)

136 For details see Vasumati: Telugu literature in Qutb Shahi period

137 Zafrah 175

138 For details about the Deccani dialects see Nasir-ud-dīn Hashmi: Dakan Men Urdu Lahore 1952; Dakhni (Qadīm Urdu) Ke Chand Taḥqiqi Mažāmīn, Delhi 1953

139 Nasir [illegible] Hashmi

140 Hobson Jobson

141 Khirqah ff 131(b), 56, 57 also see Ties of Religion

142 Sykes I, Chapter VIII

143 Ibid II, 392. Even in modern Persia the tribal element constitute one fourth of the entire population. Their strength should have been greater in Safavi Iran in view of the two facts. Firstly on account of the fact that the Safavi Iran extended in the Western and North Western side much beyond the present frontiers. The population of those areas was mostly tribal. Secondly the urbanisation in Safavi Iran was restricted mostly to the city centres and the people of rural areas continued to live in their traditional ways.

144 For an excellent account of the feudal pressure on Ṣafavi peasantry see Lambton Chapter V.

145 For details see ch.III Secs. 13, 14 and 16

146 Firdausi condemns the Arabs conquest of Iran as may be seen from his verses cited below:

ز شیر شتر خوردن و سوسمار   عرب را بجائے رسید است کار

که تخت کیان را کنند آرزو   تفو بر تو اے چرخ گردان تفو

147 Some of the renowned Sayyid families which had settled in Iran and commanded high respect during the Safavi period were -

Sādāt-i-Ṣafavī of Ardabil; Rauẓah ch. on Safavis
Sādāt-i-Niʿmatullahiah of Mahan; Mufidi 30-38
Sādāt-i-Aal-i-Nizam of Yazd; Ibid 537
Sādāt-i-Imami of Isfahan; Ibid 107, 524
Sādāt-i-Husayni of Nain Yazd; Ibid 361,657, 719
Sādāt-i-ʿAbdul Wahhabi of Tabriz; Ibid 358; A.A.A.113

Sādāt-i-ʿArizī of Isfahan; Ibid 524, 541; or
Sādāt-i-Qul hū Allah

Sādāt-i-Nur Bakhsh of Herat; Ibid 104, 107

Sādāt-i-Inju or Ṭaba Ṭaba; ch. IV f.n. 17

Sādāt-i-Marʿashi of Mazandaran Browne IV, 102

In addition to these there had been many ~~Syed~~ Sayyid families settled at Shustar, Mashhad Astarabad, Qazvin (also see A.A.A. pp. 106-114).

148 See ch. IV, f.n. 5

149 Majalis holds best evidence to this observation

150 Regarding the alliances of various Turkman tribes under the Qizilbash organisation Browne (IV p.106) is of the opinion that they had united 'not by tribal allegiance but by personal devotion to the king'. This inference is not tenable in view of the actual tribal situation in the North Western Iran and the Eastern Turkey. Minorsky has made a very clear analysis of the situation which establishes the tribal principles working behind the organisation vide Tazkirat-ul-Muluk p.30 (translated and explained by Minorsky, Leyden 1943)

151 Ibid; also see Ahsan-ul-Tawarikh of Hasan Beg Rumulu, Calcutta 1934, pp. 221-222 Sarwar 35, Sykes II 159; Browne IV 106.

152 For an early structure of nobility during the times of Shah Tahmasp see A.A.A. 104-106

153 A.A.A. 761; 763

154 For details see Annexure Diplomatic Usage, Sec. 2

155 Ibid, 763-767

156 Zonis 79; For Dravidian dialects in Iran see Levy: Persian literature, 9.

157 Ibid

158 Browne IV 13-15

159 For details see ch. III

160 Regarding Zoroastranism in Iran see Sykes I 103; 397-398 II 12 and 14 also see

161 For the role of Christians it may be remembered that Shah Isma'il and his brothers were provided a secret refuge by the Armenian Christians when they were too young were required to be put to death by Rustam Mirza the Aq Qūyunlu Chief, (Browne IV 49). Moreover the role of Sherley brothers is an important incident in Iranian politics (Browne IV, 5, 6, 10, 105; Sykes II 175, 176-179).

TWO

Political and Diplomatic Relations

Sec. 1 Perspective and Nature

Political and diplomatic relations between two political entities can hardly be mere bilateral, unmixed and above all unaffected by the relations with the rest of the world. The relations of Golconda with Iran cannot therefore be focused to observation as an undisturbed bilateral reciprocity. Their relations, political, cultural and economic, with the contemporary Deccan Sultans, the rising Marathas, the Mughals, the Uzbegs of Transoxiana, and the Ottoman Caliphs, as their immediate neighbours, had a profound bearing on the conduct of both Golconda and Iran. The two political entities were being further affected by their relations with the Russians, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French and the English on the one hand and with the Egyptians, Abyssinians, Indonesians and Chinese on the other. These relations and contacts constituted a colossal complex of the 16th and 17th century international relations, the foundations of which were deep and intertwined

with the racial, linguistic and economic factors. The influences of those contacts, on the relations of Golconda with Iran, were mostly indirect, therefore the political aspect of these bipartite relations may be isolated from this colossal complex for the convenience of this study. Yet it cannot be detached from Mughal India.

This fact should not be overlooked that both Safavi Iran and Mughal India could attain the status of 'World States' soon after their inception, while Golconda, despite her manifold relations with the contemporary world could not rise above the level of a 'native state' of greater India. But in her struggle for rise, Golconda availed of the opportunities of developing strong sentimental relations with Iran which in turn provided her political and diplomatic support in critical moments. Such bipartite relations, between a 'native state' of India and the powerful 'world state' of Iran, involved the risk of creating disharmony in the relations between Iran and the 'world state' of India represented by the Mughals. Therefore the Mughals in all justifications, assumed the role of a superior in determining the character and scope of the relations of Golconda with Iran. That formed a relational triangle throughout the period of this study. Thus the study of the relations, particularly political, between Golconda and Iran, is a subject to be observed in the context of Mughal relations with Iran. These bipartite relations are, therefore, trilateral.

Sec. 2 The Persons of Relations

'States are persons of International Law'

Schuman
(P: 102)

a) GOLCONDA

The appearance of Golconda in international politics owed to a stuff which the whirlpool of the fifteenth century Iranian politics splashed out as an unwanted element[1]. The Quṭb Shāhī kingdom of Golconda was built up by an avowed descendant of Qara Chiefs, namely Sultan Qūlī, later known as Quṭb Shah, in an alien country and on a province of the declining kingdom of Bahmanis, at a time when India did not have a strong unifying central power. Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah and his descendants had to rule over subjects of different race, religion and language, with the help of an elite which they could draw from their own homeland. On more or less similar foundations there had grown the other Deccan kingdoms, which could be a source of strength or weakness to each other as the situation required[2]. Of course there had been some major common problems mostly concerning their external affairs which brought them in a very strong alignment respecting their policies of relations with Iran.

b) IRAN

Iran, after centuries of Mongol domination and

Turkman turmoil, revolted in 905/1499 under the aegis of a professed Sayyid who inherited the blood of the last of the Sassanian emperor of Persia, Yazdigird III and ʿAlī the. son-in-law of the prophet of Islam, thus representing a synthesis of Aryo-Semitic races on the one hand and an Iranian culture with Islamic discipline on the other.[3] In this way, with the beginning of the sixteenth century, Iran was up again with her own races, languages and religion, invigorating all the three foundational factors with their Arabian counterparts.[4] The Mongol and the Turk elements were either driven to the lands beyond Seyhun or Sirdarya[5] to India, Ottoman empire or rendered incapacitated. The Ṣafavī rulers had mobilised the masses with strong sentiments stimulated by religious ideas which in turn gave a dynamic character to the conduct of Ṣafavī state itself. That conduct virtually proved a multifarious movement forcibly streaming up from the racial and linguistic Strata of the society and picking up a more accelerated momentum by its collaboration with Golconda and other Deccan kingdoms, it showed a serious trend to turn into an international movement.

c) HINDUSTAN

While Ṣafavī Iran and the Deccan Sultanates were in the stage of initial formation and stabilisation, the Chaghtāī prince Bābur was in quest of a kingdom. After his desparate efforts at Transoxiana and Khorasan he made up for India,

seized the Government of Hindustan from Ībrāhim Lodhi, reached Delhi and laid the foundations of the Mughal empire as early as in 932/1526.

It may be called upon that the progenitor of the Chaghtāī dynasty namely Timur had reached Delhi a little more than a century before and had received allegiance from the princes of the North and South India. Firoz Shah Bahmani was quick to submit his allegiance to Timūr and encouraged his (Timūr's) plan to send one of his sons to rule over India with promises himself to come forward with military aid. Timūr getting pleased with that loyal attitude issued a firman to Firoz Shah, assigning him the title of 'Well wishing son' (Farzand-e-Khair Khwah).[6] But Timūr's descendant (Bābur) was destined to come to India only after a century and a quarter.

RECOGNITION - THE FIRST PHASE OF RELATIONS

States become a member of world society of states only by the process of recognition. The main concern of an emerging state is its recognition by the recognised states. The forms and methods of recognition are variable.[7]

The Ṣafavī Iran, the Mughal Hindustan and the Deccan Sultanates had newly emerged and the problem of their recognition was different from each other.

Sec. 3 Recognition of Ṣafavī Regimen

Recognition of Ṣafavī Iran was not the recognition of a new state, it was only the recognition of a new Government. In Medieval Society the divine links of the institution of monarchy were not yet thoroughly broken. A member of a royal family, if he could secure a dominion or state, could legitimately proclaim his sovereign authority. Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī had come of a dervish family therefore he was not supposed to have a genuine right to kingship. But this was an age when there took place a sort of wedding between the Khānqāh (a ṣufi monastary) and the State (here to mean the institution of kingship).[8] Shah Īsmāʿil, being a Sayyid, made full use of the sanctity of his lineage for his political objectives. Still mere to qualify for being recognised is not a definite promise of virtual recognition. There are several other reasons which govern the issue.

The Ṣafavī Movement created several international problems for Iran. The Shīʿah ideology, with which Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī wanted to extirpate the Turko-Mongol influence rendered her idealogically lonesome or rather hostile to the major and minor political entities neighbouring all round her frontiers. It was this situation which led the Ṣafavī Iran to look far and wide at the other side neighbours of her immediate neighbours who could join her in her sentiments

so that a channel of international relations of manifold character could be built up. But all her immediate neighbours were Sunnī Turks. The Uzbeg chief Shaibānī Khan, a direct descendant of Changiz Khan was perhaps the first ruler who contemptuously refused to recognise Shah Īsmāʿil as a legitimate monarch. He sent him a lady's veil and a beggar's bowl advising him to follow his father's profession, namely the life of a dervish.[9] Though ultimately Shaibānī Khan was defeated but the event indicates that Shah Īsmāʿil had to face difficult situations for recognition. Similarly the Ottoman Caliph Salīm the Grim was 'determined to crush the upstart power and the heresy it represented', namely the Ṣafavis. He massacred forty thousand out of a total of seventy thousand Shiʿahs residing in his jurisdiction and launched an attack on the Western territories of Iran leading the famous battle of Chaldīrān of 920/1514. In this battle Iran lost Kordestan and Dayar-i-Bakr. The other parts occupied by Salīm I were of course restored by Shah Īsmāʿil. The motive of this clash was to give a set back to the Ṣafavī Movement which was the main spirit of the Ṣafavī authority.[10] This main spirit was not to be recognised by the Ottomans as they hated it through and through. It was the power which, Shah Īsmāʿil could have mustered up, made others feel his strength and gradually recognise.

So far as it is concerned with the recognition of

Iran by Bābur it became automatic on account of three reasons. Firstly Ṣafavī Iran preceded Mughal India, therefore a new state is not so much in a position to recognise as it needs be recognised. Secondly Bābur was under personal obligations of Shah Ismā'il.[11] Thirdly in spite of his repugnant feelings Babur could well realise that Iran was much more strong and stabilised than himself.[12]

Sec. 4 Recognition of Mughal Hindustan

It is interesting that the Chaghtāī chroniclers right from the times of Timur had been stating emphatically that Timūr and his descendants' sway extended over India.[13] However fantastic may be the statement it has a strong bearing on the mind of Chaghtāī princes and so on the mind of Bābur. Undoubtedly Bābur never thought of a career less than that of a pādshāh. Though Bābur won and lost several battles, he was always a monarch with a kingdom or in quest of a kingdom.[14] The sovereign right of Timūr's descendants to Pādshāhhood was regarded such an approved fact that Bābur never faced the question of recognition. Whatever he conquered he was the recognised monarch of his territories.

Sec. 5 Recognition of Golconda Sultanate

The issue of recognition with respect to Golconda was of an intricate nature. It was the common problem of all

the emerging Deccan Sultanates which had been drawing their their sovereign authority from a single but declining Bahmani monarchy. The divisible use of hitherto singular sovereign authority, fragmentation of a consolidated territorial jurisdiction and drawing of partition walls between the people of the one and the same state, were all such artificial measures which should render international recognition sufficiently difficult. The Marathi and Kanarese speaking areas were more awkwardly divided between the Nizām Shahs and ʿImād Shahs on the one hand and ʿĀdil Shahs and Barid Shahs on the other.

The personality of Golconda too was linguistically quite distinct. It comprised mainly the land of Telugu speaking people, broadly termed as Andhradesa. But it is a fact that Sultan Quli's efforts to carve a kingdom out of Andhradesa had no immediate historical continuity and was as good as introducing a new political entity into the society of states.

Further Sultan Qulī was not a prince in a position legitimately to claim to be a sovereign.[15] In the Deccan he rose from ranks. It was merely due to the absence of a unifying authority at Delhi he found a respite to rule as an independant sovereign. Sultan Qulī Quṭb Shah's problem of recognition was threefold. First of all internally he was not in any way a representative of the native people.

Nevertheless he had won over their confidence through real service and industry. Secondly to qualify himself to be a Sultan he asserted himself to be a descendant of Qara Quyunlu Chiefs. It may be mentioned that the Bahmani monarchs had been getting themselves recognised by the Ottoman Caliphs or by the household of Timūr.[16] Sultan Qulī solved this problem by conceding to the Ṣafavī Movement which was getting roots in the Deccan. Adherence to this movement was prima faci a religious action, but it opened venues for political recognition by Iran.

Recognition within India was more essential than its award by Iran. It became imperative with the establishment of Mughal rule in India. Not only Sultan Qulī Qūṭb Shah but the other Deccan Sultans did not make any delay in trying to get themselves recognised by Bābur. Though Bābur had set up his Government in Hindustan (North India) sufficiently late after the formation of the Deccanī Sultanates and being a new entrant into the society of Indian States he should have stood in need of being recognised by the self supposed Sultans of the Deccan; but since he was a genuine prince and an approved monarch, history provided him a chance of recognising those who preceded him in carving Sultanates in the Deccan. It may also be kept in view that however nominal, the Bahmani kingdom had been existing by that time.

Soon after the conquest of Hindustan Bābur himself made an observation of the political conditions prevalent

throughout the country. Regarding Deccan he observes that there were Bahmani monarchs who were left without authority. Their 'great Begs' had laid hands on the whole of the Deccan and must be asked for whatever it was needed.[17] This observation clearly indicates that as late as in 932/1526 he had been recognising the Bahmanis, however weak they might be and regarded the Sultans of the Deccan as mere 'Begs'.

The suzerainty of Timūr's descendant was a sure promise of the re-emergence of a strong central Government in India which would in due course bring the aspiring potentates of the Deccan too under its sway. This fact was fully realised by the sinking Bahmani monarch and the rising amirs of the Deccan. The universal reputation of the fantastic authority associated with Bābur, led Sultan Qulī Qūṭb Shah and other Deccan Sultans send their embassies (Rasuls) with their letters expressing loyalty to Bābur.[18] The last of the Bahmani monarch Kalimullah too, communicated a letter to Babur through a person of his own confidence, who proceeded on his mission under disguise. Shah Kalimullah informed Bābur that unfortunately his old servants (Naukaran-i-qadimī) in various parts of the Deccan had become so oppressive as to keep him under surveillance. He requested Bābur to come to his rescue and get him released from the oppression. In turn he promised to cede Berār and Daulatābād to Babur. Bābur could not concede to the request of Shah Kalimullah

Bahmani.[19] Though he had invited Sayyid Deccanī (Shah Ṭahir), at dinner, who had called on Bābur as the Elchi of Nizām Shah, but this courtesy cannot be construed as recognition, because Bābur was aware of the existence of the original sovereign de jure in the Deccan. Bābur seems to have politely and tactfully swerved the issue of recognising the Sultans of the Deccan. Bābur's successors never recognised any of the Sultanates of the Deccan as independant political entities and never allowed them a chance to strive for recognition at the Mughal court.

Iran had not recognised Golconda and the other kingdoms of the Deccan at least upto 924/1518[20] for the basic reason that the existence of Bahmani kingdom was a fact already recognised by Iran. It may be remembered that as late as in Jumada 921/1515 an embassy (Rasūl) from Shah Īsmāil Ṣafavī arrived at the Bahmani Court with a letter and gifts of costly clothes, jewellery and Arabian horses. He also sent the Taj-i-Shāhī which was representative of the religion of Twelvers (Āsnā ʿAshari). Sultan Mahmūd did not pay any attention to the embassy,[21] under the influence of his Sunnī amirs like Qāsim Barid.[22] According to Ṭabāṭabā, both the Shah and the military (Sipah) of the Bahmani kingdom were by that time Sunnis. The embassy was a tacid acknowledgement of Bahmani sovereignty in the Deccan; it also showed that the Iranian Court did not recognise the independence of the succession states that were by now coming into being.

Among all the Deccan Sultans ʿĀdil Shahs seem to have pioneered the development of relations with Iran and adoption of Shiʿah faith.[23] Next to ʿĀdil Shahs were the Quṭb Shahs to follow the new religio-political track.

The Iranian embassy of 921/1515 which was so discourteously treated and dismissed by Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani after a detention of about two years, looked up for help to ʿĀdil Shah whose embassy under Sayyid Āḥmad Haravī had been to Iran between 914/1508 to 920/1514.[24] The embassy was of course helped and facilitated in its return by Īsmāʿil ʿĀdil Shah. The Iranian Elchi who had moved towards Bijapur was received by Īsmāʿil ʿĀdil Shah (at Allapur) who arranged his return through Dabhol. This courteous treatment by Ismaʿil ʿĀdil Shah pleased Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī very much. It is presumed that the Iranian Elchi made a thorough report of the deterioration of the Bahmanis, the unwholesome domination of Sunnī āmirs and the autonomy of ʿĀdil Shah and other Deccanī rulers which were anxious of recognition. Since Īsmāʿil ʿĀdil Shah, by that time, had already declared his adherence to the Shi'ite faith, Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī on the return of his embassy from Bahmanī court and its report sent another embassy under Ībrāhim Beg Turkman to Īsmāʿil ʿĀdil Shah. This was the first embassy sent by Iran to the new Deccan Sultans with manifold objects and which arrived at Bijāpur in the year 925/1519. Ībrāhim Beg Turkman brought

with him valuable gift articles and a letter which was a formal declaration of the recognition of ʿĀdil Shah as 'Pādshāh'.[25] This makes a clear beginning of the recognition of the Deccan Sultanates by Iran affording attractive grounds to other Deccan Sultans to lean towards the Shi'ite faith for obtaining recognition from Iran, one of the great powers of contemporary East.

Sultan Qulī was always scrupulous in changing his socio-political attitude. He was always inclined to follow slowly and gradually the bold steps taken by other Deccan Sultans, than himself to initiate and lead. It is with the same spirit, he openly declared his adherence to Shi'ite faith and dropped the name of Mahmūd Shah Bahmani from the Khutbah read in his province (Ṭaraf) as early as in 918/1512. He made a keen study of the significance of Ṣafavī movement in the context of the Deccan politics or more so in the context of Indo-Iranian relations.[26] After the death of Mahmūd Shah Bahmanī in 924/1518. Sultan Qulī too made a formal declaration of his autonomy and introduced the name of Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī in Khutbah before his name.[27] This was apparently an action volunteered by a newly emerging Sultanate, to please Iran. It may be presumed that the Iranian embassy led by Ībrāhim Beg Turkman sent to ʿĀdil Shah, had been staying in the Deccan and should have come to know of this action of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. Moreover it was but natural for the Iranian embassy to work for the cause of Ṣafavī Movement in the Deccan. By 926/1520

Shah Ṭahir too arrived at Goa where he had an occasion to meet Sayyid Āḥmad Haravī, who had returned from Iran as an Elchi of ʿĀdil Shah to the court of Shah Īsmāʿil[28] and was escorted by a set of horsemen, deputed by Burhān Niẓām Shah.[29]

The arrival of Ībrāhim Beg Turkman and Shah Ṭahir opens an era of the propagation of the Ṣafavi Shī'ism in the Deccan. As the muslim population of the Deccan was predominantly Sunni with a leaning towards Ṣufi'ism, the introduction of Shi'ite creed with its partially unfamiliar positive propositions regarding Imamate and other issues together with a host of piercing encroachments (Mata'in), was not palatable for it and immediately led to a sort of social imbalance.[30] It also created factions between the Deccan Sultanates and inside them between their militia, their elite and intellectuals. Among all the sultans of the Deccan no one was so careful about social harmony as the Quṭb Shahs had been. Sultan Qulī appears to be more busy in stabilising his governance and territories in relation to his neighbouring Deccan Sultanates than in international politics or in the promotion of international relations.

His first noteworthy Elchi is seen to have been deputed at the court of Bābur in the year 932/1526 with a letter to felicitate the Chaghtāī Monarch on his sway over Hindustan.[31] No evidence, Indian or Iranian is available if Golconda was accorded a recognition by Shah Īsmāʿil.

Nevertheless during the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp I Golconda had definitely attained the status of a recognised Sultanate in Indo-Iranian relations. Even during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I no clearly expressed event of official relations between Golconda and Iran is traceable till 948/1541. It was by that year the Elchis of the Deccan (including Golconda) have been reported by the Iranian sources to be present in the Ṣafavī court. These Elchis had been presenting valuable gifts brought from their country and in return they were favoured with the grant of robes of honour, bejewelled Taj, horses with ancillaries and daggers with belts etc.[32]

The Iranian account of the Ṣafavī court recorded for the year 948/1541 leads to the inference that Quṭb Shāhī Elchis were sent to Iran even before that year. If so, Golconda should have secured Iranian recognition much before 948/1541. The later Golconda sources claim that Golconda had entered into contacts with Iran right from the times of Shah Īsmā'il Ṣafavī and Sultan Qulī Quṭb Shah 'the one in Iran and the other in India' and that they had been maintaining and observing all the formalities of amicable relations and exchanging envoys.[33] If that was so Golconda should have been recognised by Iran before 930/1524 i.e. before the death of Shah Īsmā'il I.

POLITICAL IMBALANCE - THE SECOND PHASE

a) Golconda between powerful Iran and weak Hindustan

Sec. 6 Background

The fourth decade of the tenth century Hijrah[34] may be marked with many major events in this trilateral relational history. The demise of Shah Īsmā'il Ṣafavī in the year 930/1524 in Iran, of Shah Kalimullah Bahmanī in the year 934/1528 in the Deccan and of Bābur in the year 937/1530 in Hindustan led the current of events both in Iran and Hindustan to change with its consequent bearing on Golconda. Eighty years old Sultan Quli Quṭb Shah had to think of a plausible reorientation of his foreign policies, for both in Hindustan and Iran the situations were not calm and peaceful; hence uncongenial for the promotion of relationship.

Sec. 7 Iran under Ṭahmāsp

In Iran, Shah Ṭahmāsp was only ten years old when he ascended the throne in 930/1524. The young monarch had to face many a difficult situations from the very outset of his reign. The immediate trouble was the dissension and bloodshed among the Īstājlu, Tāklu and Shāmlù clans of Iranian Qizilbāsh on whom the stabilisation of his young sovereign authority was depending.[35] On the North-Eastern frontiers he had to respond to a series of invasions by the

Uzbeg chief Ubaid Khan, who, from the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp's accession till 938/1532 launched six major attacks.[36]

On the western side of his kingdom Shah Ṭahmāsp had to resist the strong oppression of Ottoman Sultan Sulaimān with whom the Shah had to fight at least four major wars.[37] The turbulent beginning of his reign did not permit him to entertain peaceful envoys from minor political entities.[38] Moreover he was mostly away from his capital and much engaged in negotiations with the envoys of warring neighbours. From the second half of the fifth decade of the tenth century Hijrah[39] he could stay at his capital Qazvin and promote his relations with many countries.[40]

According to Īskandar Munshī, in the year 948/1542 Elchis from the great rulers (Salāṭīn-i-ʿUẓẓām) of the Deccan particularly from Niẓām Shah, the vāli of Aḥmadnagar and Quṭb Shah the vāli of Golconda arrived at the Ṣafavī court.[41] Such conversable Elchis had been turning up to the Iranian court time and again and had been professing that their monarchs were the devotees to the household of ʿAlī (Haydar-i-Karrār) and claimed themselves to be Shī'ites of the innocent Imāms. According to this Iranian source, these Elchis asserted their loyalty and faith to the Ṣafavī monarch with the argument that in their dominions, they had got the khutbah recited with the names of The Twelve and the Ṣafavī monarch. These Elchis were received with all necessary protocol. The Golconda Elchi of

948/1542 received among other things, a bejewelled Taj too, from Shah Ṭahmāsp for Sultan Qulī Quṭb Shah.[42]

Sec. 8 Mughal Fiasco

In Hindustan, Humāyun, during his early career, was not without an ambition to extend his suzerainty over the Deccan. In 942/1535 he reduced Āḥmadābād and most of the parts of Gujarat and intended to move to lay seige of Burhānpur. This was quite harassing for the Sultans of the Deccan all of whom addressed Humāyun through their humble petitions requesting him to spare Khāndesh.[43] At the same time the Sultans of the Deccan formed a military alliance to defend themselves against Humāyun and immediately to protect Mirān Muḥammad Fārūqī of Gujarāt. Sultan Qulī Quṭb Shah was a party to this alliance. However the allied Deccan force had not to clash with Humāyun as the latter was diverted to face the challenging Āfghans under Sher Shah.[44]

The rest of Humāyun's tenure was full of turmoil and heavy with its own problems. He had to face many challenges and, for some time lost his kingdom in 947/1540 and fled to Iran. His timely absence to Iran and coming under heavy obligations of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī as well as his formal acceptance of Shī'ah faith, should have not gone unnoticed by Sultan Qulī and his contemporary Deccan Sultans. This had virtually rendered him ineffective in the relational triangle. By the time Humāyun lost his kingdom the Elchi of Golconda was in Iran.

Though Humāyun could restore his suzerainty over Hindustan with the help of Iran, this created a great political imbalance in Indo-Iranian politics.[45]

Sec. 9 Interdash of Sher Shah

The intervening tenure of Sher Shah (947/1540 to 952/1545) was short and expeditious. He had neither time nor occasion to meddle with the Deccan affairs.[46] Nor Sultan Qulī, who was in strong sentimental alliances with Iran, showed any cognizance of Āfghān suzerainty. Moreover by this time he had built up all necessary formal relations with Iran.

Sher Shah, who was against the Ṣafavī Movement, tried to work out an international strategy, in alliance with the Ottoman Caliph Sulaimān the Magnificent and the Uzbeg rulers of Transoxiana, to overthrow the Qizilbāsh Movement and Ṣafavī regimen.[47] Though Sher Shah's design for a wholesale disposal of Ṣafavī regimen by an internationally allied force could not be effectuated, yet, the very design should have alarmed Shah Ṭahmāsp and the Deccan Sultans. Shah Ṭahmāsp, by that time, could have bargained peace with the Uzbegs and the Ottoman, through cumbersome negotiations and after warring with them. The trend of events suggests that, at that moment, the relations of Golconda with Iran should have grown stronger for two reasons. Firstly Iran should have liked to have an anti Āfghān Shi'ite pocket in the Deccan. Secondly Golconda

had been aspiring to get herself internationally recognised and avoid Delhi.

Sec. 10 Relational Lull

During the rest of the period of Sultan Qulī and throughout the period of his successors, Jamshīd Quṭb Shah and Subhān Qulī, no account of political and diplomatic relations between Golconda and Iran is traceable.[48] The relational triangle of politics got, for sometime, broken on account of the political disobligation of the Deccan to Hindustan on one hand and the absence of an equibalanced Indo-Iranian relations on the other.

The political imbalance in Indo-Iranian relations was sure to continue till the end of Humāyun's reign in 963/1556. That imbalance was naturally absolute. It had further to continue, as a matter of moral obligation during early reign of Ākbar and up to the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576. Such continued imbalance was not so absolute as it was morally restrained.

b) Golconda between a weak Iran and powerful Hindustan

Sec. 11 The period of moral obligation

So far as it is concerned with what we have termed as the period of moral obligation a few facts need be kept in

view. Early during the reign of Ākbar Shah Ṭahmāsp had reduced Qandahār in 965/1558 when Ākbar was hardly fifteen years old. It may be remembered that the return of Qandahār to Iran was obligatory on the part of Humāyun but he had been persistently avoiding it and, as a matter of fact, never handed it over to Shah Ṭahmāsp, in his (Humāyun's) lifetime.[49] Ākbar too, wanted to retain Qandahār, but the immediate reaction which he showed was that as if he had no objection on the reduction of Qandahār by Shah Ṭahmāsp. That attitude manifested a sort of magnanimous diplomacy on the part of the young monarch. Apart from the issue of Qandahār, Shah Ṭahmāsp, had been interfering in the internal affairs of Ākbar by recommending the cases of nobles at Ākbar's court. Ākbar who was growing stronger obliged the recommendations but[50] in such a way which bred stagnation in Indo-Iranian relations from 972/1564 onwards. When thirty five years old Ākbar was a powerful monarch Shah Ṭahmāsp passed away. He was succeeded by his fourth son Shah Īsmā῾il II for a very short period. Shah Īsmā῾il II was succeeded by his eldest but blind brother Shah Muḥammad K̲hudabandah Ṣafavī in 985/1577. The twelve years of the reign of those two inept Ṣafavī successors facilitated the rise of the Uzbegs. The powerful Uzbeg chief ῾Abdullah Khan, viewing the weak situation in Iran, invited Ākbar for joining him in an alliance against Iran with the ultimate object of overthrowing the Ṣafavī regimen in its critical moment and then to divide Iran between themselves. Ākbar, morally

restrained as he was declined to concede to the proposal with the express plea of his moral obligations to the house of Shah Ṭahmāsp, who had helped his father Humāyun and also for the reason that the Ṣafavis were the descendants of the household of the Prophet.[51] He wanted to protect Iran. He once thought of helping Khudabandah, against the unruly Qizilbāsh nobles and against the Turkish oppressions, by extending military aid to him or even by going himself to his rescue. Though this could not be done but the course of events indicated a change in the balance of power. It was a situation representing a different imbalance wherein there was a powerful Hindustan and a weak Iran. This imbalance, in the context of the trilateral relations, under our observation, tended to discourage the relations of Golconda with Iran and hence the beginning of Mughal supremacy on Golconda.

Sec. 12 Golconda Peshkash to Ākbar

Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah who succeeded the throne of Golconda in 957/1550 had to revise his policies respecting his relations both with Iran and Hindustan. He does not seem to have entered into relations with Humāyun (during his second tenure) or with Ākbar, upto the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp with whom he had been keeping contacts so long as he lived.[52] That Quṭb Shāhī monarch, during the reign of Khudabandah realised that Ākbar's authority was overshadowing the Deccan.

Ākbar had already received allegiance from Mirān Mubārak Shah the vāli of Khāndesh in 972/1564[53] and from Murtuza Nizām Shah I the vāli of Āhmadnagar in 981/1573.[54] With that expanding sway of the Mughals, Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah, dejected with the weak Iran, was quickened at least to pretend allegiance to Ākbar by sending him his peshkash in 985/1577. It is interesting that Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah tried to send quite imposing articles in his peshkash which included a fighting elephant of an unusual size named Fatḥ Mubārak. On 27th Ābān (Shaʻbān) 985/October 1577 the magnificent beast was brought before Ākbar by the Elchis of Quṭb-ul-Mulk. It looked so wild that it was impossible to ride it. But Ākbar's mahout Jahān Pahalwān-i-Īlāhī immediately jumped on its back and in no time brought the beast to its knees, to the surprise of the Elchis of Quṭb Shah.[55]

Not only Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah but all the other Sultans of the Deccan were submitting their peshkash to Ākbar. This peshkash appeared to be voluntary than obligatory. It mostly comprised articles of gift and hardly any cash.

Sec. 13 Ākbar's diplomatic strategy

Ākbar was not unmindful of this voluntary allegiance which could possibly be a pretext. He put this allegiance on trial by virtually treating the Sultans of the Deccan as agency to carry out his orders. In Bahman (Zilqada) 987/December 1579

Ākbar issued a Firman to the sultans of the Deccan who were regarded as the landlords (marzbāns) of the Deccan, to subjugate the Portuguese (Firangis) who were hindering muslim pilgrims on their way to Mecca.[56] This was a part of Ākbar's programme of dislodging the Portuguese from their coastal possessions. At the same time the Firangi action against muslim pilgrims was not without encouragement by Iran.[57] There is no wonder if Golconda and other sultanates of the Deccan had been joining Iranian policy by conniving at the mischief of the Portuguese. Ākbar's Firman was issued when Iran was ruled by her weakest monarch Khudabandah (see Sec.11) and sultans of the Deccan had to stand their grounds without any foreign support. That Firman implied manifold objects: Firstly to strengthen the Indian ports by getting them vacated by Portuguese when they had no immediate support. Secondly to put an embargo on the lessez-faire prevalent on coastal India and exploited by the Portuguese. Thirdly to crush the bold Iranian policy of religious interference through informal alliance with the Portuguese seafarers which damaged the coastal solidarity of India. Fourthly to introduce a formula of check and balance, on the coastal commercio-political situation partited by the Portuguese seafarers and coastal chieftains, by making the latter responsible for implementing the aforementioned Firman.

Regardless of the matter whether or not Ākbar succeeded in the above objects, it is a fact that the Firman created an atmosphere of awe and fear in the Deccan Sultanates. Even Golconda, the frontiers of which were quite remote from Mug̱hal territories except perhaps at the Southern fringes of Orissa, was so much afraid of Mug̱hal suzerainty that in less than three months after the issue of the Firman Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah submitted his allegiance to Ākbar. In Muharram 988/1580 he sent his Elchis with valuable gift articles and peshkash together with his petition (ʻarzdās̱ht) asserting loyality and attachment to the Mug̱hal court.[58] Ābul Fażl observes that though the landlords (marzbāns) of the Deccan had resorted to sycophancy (Labahgarī) and praise mongering (Niyāyis̱hguzārī) but they were not proving themselves so obedient. Ābul Fażl further observes that Ākbar's acceptance of peshkash and gifts pacified Ībrāhim's dejected spirit.[59]

Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah died in the year 988/1580 and was succeeded by his fourteen years old son Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah.

Sec. 14 Golconda alliance against Ākbar

For over half a century of political imbalance in Indo-Iranian relations when the scale of power weighed heavily on the side of Iran, Golconda had opportunity to emerge and stabilize as a well off 'native state' and make

efforts to attain the status of a 'world state' under the recognition accorded by Iran. When the balance of power, in Indo-Iranian relations weighed heavily on the side of Hindustan, during the middle of the reign of Ākbar, Golconda was rendered forlon and was not recognised by Ākbar even as a native state. Contemporary Mughal chroniclers mention of Quṭb Shahs and other Deccan Sultans as Marzbāns or Ḥakims.[60]

Ākbar did not translate, his ambitions of bringing Deccan under his sway, through any military action. He used a diplomatic device of deputing eminent persons for tendering their counsels to the Sultans of the Deccan to submit their allegiance to the Mughal emperor, in their own interest. That strategy constituted a series of diplomatic missions from 991/1583 to 1000/1592[61] during which time Ākbar never drew his sword against the Deccan. Ākbar's representatives on such missions, Khushurs or Wakhshurs (apostles) as they were called, were preaching the gospel of Mughal authority in the Deccan, did not seem to have carried any letters.

In the year 996/1587 Shah Khudabandah Ṣafavī surrendered his throne to his eighteen years old revolting but promising son ʿAbbās Mirzā Ṣafavī who commanded the confidence of the major Qizilbāsh sects.[62] This was the beginning of the re-emergence of a powerful Iran. Ākbar could well realise the consequences of the accession of Shah ʿAbbās I

particularly in the context of his (Ākbar's) designs respecting Qandhahār and the Deccan. He therefore expedited his campaigns of the Deccan by taking a resort to military oppression.[63] Mughal forces had already reached Gujarat as early as in 991/1583.[64] In 999/1590 Ākbar deputed Sultan Murād to admonish the landlords of the Deccan, since they could not be corrected by good counsels.[65] In 1001/1592 Shaikh Ābul Fayẑ Fayẑī, was sent as a Wakhshur (apostle) to the Deccan[66] the next year in 1002/1594. Rājah Mān Singh was sent from Bengal to the Deccan and Sultan Murād was ordered to be ready for launching an attack on Āḥmadnagar.[67]

Sultan Murād laid seige to Āḥmadnagar in the year 1004/1595 and was resisted by Chānd Bibī, by an allied force of the Deccan Sultans which was also joined by an auxiliary of 2000 horsemen, of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shah, led by Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish. Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish drove the Mughal forces back for sometime and immediately returned to Golconda without caring for subsequent developments on the battle field of Āḥmadnagar.[68] The seige ended after concluding a peace dictated by the Mughals on the defeated Niẓām Shahs.[69] Still the situation in the Deccan was not fully controlled by the Mughal army which had to carry many more campaigns in the Deccan. First under the leadership of Sultan Murād (d 1007/1598) then under prince Dāniyāl till the reduction of fort of Āsir in the year 1009/1600.[70] After that conquest

the position of Nizām Shahs was rendered to that of a Mughal protege. The extended frontiers of the Mughal Empire were then touching Bijāpur. ʿĀdil Shah was naturally quick to demonstrate a submissive attitude to the Mughals. According to Mughal sources, Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah too, showed an attitude of humblesse (Niyāzmandī) and desired, with other Deccan Sultans, deputation of someone from the imperial court to his sultanate for maintaining amicable relations. But Ākbar turned a deaf ear for sometime. It may be inferred that Ākbar did not immediately concede to their request for the obvious reason that the exchange of diplomats might lead to justify the independent status of Golconda. However after a few years he deputed Masud Beg to Golconda to stay there as a Mughal political agent preaching the gospel of Mughal supremacy.[71] In Shawwāl 1013/1604 Ākbar received peshkash from Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah which included 30 elephants with golden ancillaries, bejewelled articles, and other rarities of Golconda.[72] The next year Ākbar died on 12th Jumada II 1014/1605 and was succeeded to his throne by his son Nūru'ddin Jahāngir.

Sec. 15 Roving Elchi of ʿĀbbās I in the Deccan

In Iran, Shah ʿAbbās, who succeeded in 996/1587 had to cope up with immediate issues of the dissension in the nobility, the oppression of Ottoman Sultan in the West and those of Uzbegs in the East. The development of relations

with Hindustan or Golconda were of a secondary significance. He made tactful efforts to stabilise himself by entering into peace treaties, though immediately to his loss, with the Ottoman Sultan Murād III and made up to recover Khorasan from ʿAbdullah Khan Uzbeg.[73] Qandahar was then separated from Iran on account of the Uzbeg occupation of Khorasan. Ākbar who could have easily taken over Qandahār during the times of Īsmāʿil II or Khudabandah, did not do so in view of comity. But he did not delay in annexing Qandahār while it was thus lost by Iran.[74]

Shah ʿAbbās I ambitious to get stronger, did not neglect maintenance of good relations with Ākbar and the Deccan.[75] By that time Ākbar was growing older, Jahāngir was menacing him with his revolts and Shah ʿAbbās was getting stronger particularly after his conquest of Khorasan in 1006/1597 and Herat in 1007/1598 and was well.[76] It appears that Shah ʿAbbās I, a few years after his accession, sent an Elchi named Āsadullah Beg Tabrizi Kark Yaraq as a roving ambassador to the rulers of the Deccan with letters addressed to them by Shah ʿAbbās I. The word Kark Yaraq (Chief of ordnance) suggests that he was a militariman who could have given expert suggestions to the Deccan sultans regarding ordnance and other important military matters. Āsadullah Beg Kark Yaraq returned to Iran in the year 1005/1596 when Yādgār Sultan Rumlu too had returned from the court of Ākbar. Āsadullah Beg Tabrizi Kark Yaraq had carried enormous articles of gift sent by the Sultans of the Deccan.[77]

Further details about the letter carried by Kark Yaraq and his mission in the Deccan are not available. Still two things are definite. Firstly his deputation assures the interest of Shah ʿAbbās I in the Deccan affairs even during his much troubled early career; secondly that the Elchi should have furnished graphic information regarding Deccan affairs to Shah ʿAbbās I.

Sec. 16 Qāẓī Mustafa, the Golconda envoy to Iran

In the above perspective of the Mug̠hal oppression on the Deccan (see Sec. 14) and Indo-Iranian relations (Sec. 15) the young Sultan of Golconda Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah had to determine the nature and scope of his relations with Iran in consultation with his Peshwa, Mir Muḥammad Mumin Āstrabādī[78] and the Majlis.[79] Ever since his accession he was meekly resisting the Mug̠hal pressure and trying to seek relief by offering casual peshkash and pretension of allegiance. At the same time he had to join the military alliance of the Deccan Sultans and resist the Mug̠hals with force. On the battle field of Sonepat (Āḥmadnagar), Golconda army was noted by the Mug̠hals, as it formed the left wing of the allied force.[80] Such alliance was always encouraged and appreciated by Iran. But that was the last alliance of all the Sultans of the Deccan. The dual and dubious attitude of Golconda was repeatedly criticised by the Mug̠hal observers.[81]

Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah could have properly gauged the military strength of the Mughals on the one hand and their diplomatic resourcefulness on the other. Like his ancestors, he too, looked at Iran for help. The Iranian diplomatic contacts included a sort of military help as well.

Muḥammad Qulī might not be expected to have entered into diplomatic relations with Shah Khudabandah Ṣafavī. During the early career of Shah ʿAbbās I it should have taken time for him to make a correct reading of the situation both at Iran and Hindustan. Being much pressurised, he was in real need of some exterior political support. Much of his hopes were resting with the rising Iran. Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah sent his first embassy led by Qāżī Mustafa[82] to the court of Shah ʿAbbās I. The Quṭb Shāhī Elchi carried a letter of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah addressed to Shah ʿAbbās I.[83]

The letter has been dressed with figurative and enigmatic phrases in view of the risk lest the letter should get exposed accidently or censored by the Mughals.[84] He informed that the insurgents (āhl-i-ṭughyān) had been creating great disturbances for the past several years. (Those insurgents were the Mughals) That enigmatic reference related to the Mughal military oppression in the Deccan from 1002/1593 to 1009/1600.[85] The reason for the hostile attitude of the Mughals, as explained by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah, was the attachment of Golconda with Ṣafavī dynasty. He further

emphasised that that attachment was an avowed and established fact.

Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah made a fervent appeal to Shah ʿAbbās I taking such suitable action which might relieve Golconda and other Deccan Sultanates from the oppression of the Mug͟hals. He assured that all the Deccan Sultans were adhering to S͟hi'ite faith and were faithful to Iran.

In the end Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah recorded his credentials for Qāẓī Mustafa the Elchi and the bearer of the letter and indirectly suggested that the actual mission of the Elchi would be conveyed orally.[86]

No record is available regarding the success and return of Qāẓī Mustafa. Nevertheless he seems to have conveyed the oral message quite effectively and enlightened Shah ʿAbbās I with the situation in the Deccan and the problems faced by Golconda. No immediate response from the Ṣafavī monarch is noticeable. However in the year 1012/1604 he sent an Elchi Uig͟hūrlu Beg Sultan to Golconda.

Sec. 17 The Iranian Elchi Uig͟hūrlu Sultan to Golconda

Uig͟hūrlu Beg Sultan came to India by sea route and landed at the port of Goa in 1012/1604. The news conveyers (manhiyāns) of the port carried the news of his arrival to the Qutb Shah Court.[87] Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah took

his arrival as an honour and deputed Mir Ziyau'ddīn Muḥammad Nishāburī to receive the guest at port of Goa. The royal receptionist entertained the Elchi at Goa and escorted him upto the borders of Golconda kingdom with all necessary protocol. At the Golconda border a team of nobles (comprising āmirs, khans, akabir and ā'yān) which was sent by the sultan gave a reception to the Elchi and they all moved towards the capital where Uighūrlu Beg Sultan was allowed to appear before Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah at Kālā Chabutrā.[88]

At that place of reception by the Sultan, the Elchi first expressed immense feelings of friendship and sincerity on behalf of the Shah and then submitted the letter (maktub) of Shah ʿAbbās I to Sultan Muḥammad Qulī together with suitable gifts which included a Taj as well.[89] In the reception given by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah Uighūrlu Beg Sultan and the men in his suite were all favoured with robes of honour and other gifts much above the Book of Protocol (Tashrifāt). They were provided with elegant palaces.[90]

The mission of Uighūrlu Sultan, according to Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī was 'to express the excessive attachment and to strengthen the foundations of unity', between the two dynasties. The actual objective could be revealed if the letter brought by him had been cited by the chronicle.[91] Information supplied by Firishtah suggests that one of the

mission of Uighūrlu Beg Sultan was to establish matrimonial relations between the household of Shah ʿAbbās I and Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah by uniting the latter's daughter in marriage with the former's son.[92] Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah had only one daughter Hayāt Bakhshi Begum and no other issues. He should not have liked to part with her. In 1016/1607 he celebrated her marriage with his nephew Sultan Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Āmin, which should have been attended by Uighūrlu Beg Sultan who was still in Hyderabad.

Uighūrlu Beg Sultan stayed for over six years and had enough opportunity to observe internal affairs of Golconda, the inter-sultanate relations in the Deccan, as well as their policies respecting their relations with the Mughals.

So far as it was concerned with the internal affairs of Golconda the administration was fully controlled by two Iranian veterans namely Mir Muḥammad Mumin as Peshwa and Mirzā Muḥammad Āmin Shahristānī as Mir Jumla. Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish was holding some important military position. Uighūrlu Beg Sultan, like Āsadullah Beg Kark Yaraq, was also holding a military rank in Iran and had come to Golconda with one hundred war leaders (Ghāziyān-i-ʿUzzām) who should have in turn trained the Golconda army. Before the Elchi could be relieved the unhappy incident of Nabāt Ghāt took place in Hyderabad in about 1017/1608.[93] Nabāt Ghāt incident was a tragedy of errors in which first the Gharibs (the Arabs,

the Paṭhāns and the Mughals) were ruthlessly massacred who were shortly after avenged, by a general massacre of the Deccanis especially those who were in police and military services. That was followed by a Firman issued by Sultan Muḥammad Qulī for the expulsion of the Mughals strangers and the triflers (hirzakārs).[94] That event was immediately followed by an organised revolt of the Deccanis to overthrow Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah and enthrone his brother Khudabandah.[95] The revolt failed and many of the important Deccanī chiefs were killed. It is doubtful if the two unhappy incidents were spontaneous. For, the reports made and orders issued in respect of them were partial and miscarried to the loss of the Deccanis, the Paṭhāns, the Mughals, the Arabs and the triflers. All those elements were disliked by the Iranian Āfāqis constituting the superstructure of the Quṭb Shāhī nobility. If however those events were engineered it was with the 'one thousand torches of the wise Counsels' afforded by the Iranian elite around Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah.[96] It may not be overlooked that the Iranian Elchi Uighūrlu Beg Sultan was in Golconda with his suite when those incidents took place.

As regards the relations of Golconda with Delhi, after the death of Ākbar, it appears that Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah drastically changed his policy. All the Deccan Sultans, particularly ʿĀdil Shah, wanted to be guided

by Iran regarding the orientation of their policy in respect of their relations with the Mughals after the accession of Jahāngir. They abstained from sending condolatory-cum-congratulatory Elchis to Delhi without consulting Iran.[97] They also delayed to contact Iran upto 1018/1609-10.

EMERGENCE OF BALANCE IN POWERS - THE THIRD PHASE

Sec. 18 The Relational Lull

Jahāngir, Muḥammad Qulī and Shah ʿAbbās I were of the same age,[98] but Muḥammad Qulī ascended the throne in the year 988/1589 Shah ʿAbbās I, eight years after in 996/1597 and Jahāngir was late by many years to become a king in the year 1014/1605. While a prince he had entered into correspondence and friendship with Shah ʿAbbās I.[99] But it is surprising that Shah ʿAbbās I as well as the rulers of the Deccan abstained from deputing envoys for condoling the death of Ākbar and felicitating his accession immediately. Even Shah ʿAbbās I who had fraternal relations with Jahāngir, from the times of his (Jahāngir's) princehood neither condoled Ākbar's death nor congratulated Jahāngir till the beginning of the latter's sixth regnal year. The obvious reason was the Iranian design for the restoration of Qandahār. Shah ʿAbbās I had launched his first attack on Qandahār during the last years of Ākbar and the second during the first regnal year of Jahāngir.[100] Jahāngir, though he had to respond to many internal disturbances, took immediate and

successful measures for saving Qandahār. The Iranian forces retreated from Qandahār by the middle of the year 1015/1606. Shah ʿAbbās I, whose ambitious design for restoring Qandahār had failed felt the risk of his loosing good friendship with Jahāngir. He therefore pretentiously assumed an attitude as if he was unaware of the Iranian forces attempting to reduce Qandahār. He sent a letter of explanation to Jahāngir through Ḥusayn Beg Shāmlu and tried to revive his friendship with the Mughal monarch. In 1018/1609-10 Shah ʿAbbās I sent his first major Elchi Yādgār ʿAlī Sultan Ṭālish to Hindustan on a much delayed Condolatory-Cum-Congratulatory mission[101] with a letter.

Sec. 19 Embassy of Mihdī Qulī to Iran

Jahāngir, ever since his accession, had to experience the much unfraternal attitude of his so called brother Shah ʿAbbās I not only on account of latter's ignoring the major events like the death of Ākbar and the accession of Jahāngir for five years but also attempting to seize Qandahār. Besides the unfriendly Iranian policy, he also experienced a change in the attitude of the Deccan Sultans. Because of their association and diplomatic relations with Iran, the Deccan Sultans neglected to cultivate the esteem of change. This brought on them the wrath of the Mughal emperor.[102] Jahāngir first dealt with the issue of Qandahār and then

diverted his attention towards the Deccan.

On 4th Rajab 1018/23rd September 1609 he sent his son Parviz on the Deccan expedition.[103] On 6th Zilqada 1018/21st January 1610 he received a report from Khān-i-Āʿẓam that the forces with Parviz were not enough to reduce the allied forces of the Deccan Sultans. Jahāngir, instantly resolved to go over to the Deccan. Nevertheless as advised by the Āmirs a reinforcement was sent under Khān-i-Jahān's son on 17th Zilqada 1018/1st February 1610.[104] This was a beginning and several other reinforcements were diverted to the Deccan front. The rallying Mughal army in the Deccan caused much harassment to the Sultans who could then no more be unheedful of Delhi.

Afraid of the Mughal invassion the Sultans of the Deccan entered into a two-fold alliance. The one was their military alliance for meeting the Mughal challenge and the other was their collaboration in formulating a joint foreign policy. In 1018/1609 Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah, Ībrāhim ʿĀdil Shah II and Malik ʿAmbar sent their Elchis to Iran with letters addressed to Shah ʿAbbās I.

The same year Shah ʿAbbās I addressed Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah for relieving Uighūrlu Beg Sultan.[105] Before the Elchi could be relieved, Sultan Muḥammad Qulī sent Qambar ʿAlī, a man of his confidence, with articles of gift comprising

Indian jewellery, and textiles, to Shah ʿAbbās I with a view to strengthen friendship.[106]

Uighūrlu Beg Sultan was relieved, the same year, with Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish as return Elchi from Golconda[107] with a letter and enormous gift articles wrought in the course of five years. Accompanied with the Elchis of Bijāpur and Āḥmadnagar[108] Uighūrlu Sultan proceeded to Iraq.[109]

The letter of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah addressed to Shah ʿAbbās I is couched in an ornate language. This has been basically a credential for the return Elchi Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish who was being sent to Iran as a permanent representative of Golconda at the Ṣafavī Court.[110] It expressed Sultan Muḥammad Qulī's loyalty and his thanks for sending over an Elchi to Golconda. The letter is in two parts, the second of which is more informal, personal and humble. It is in this second part Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah has made a request to Shah ʿAbbās I for paying special attention to the oral message communicated through Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish.[111] He made an earnest effort to strengthen his friendship with Shah ʿAbbās I and requested him to recommend his case to Jahāngir in a way as if at his own initiative and accord.[112]

The object of the mission, carried by Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish and Uighūrlu Beg Sultan, as explained in the letter was the promotion of happy relations between Muḥammad

Qulī Quṭb Shah and Shah ʿAbbās I. The Iranian Elchi returned with a team of Elchis of the Deccan Sultans whose object or one of the objects might have been common. According to Iranian sources the Sultans of the Deccan had lodged a petition at the Safavi court against the interference of the ruler of Hindustan in their dominions and since there was a great friendship between the household of Timūr and the Safavi family which had become stronger between Shah ʿAbbās I and Jahāngir than ever before. They desired him to recommend their case to Jahāngir. The first thing Shah ʿAbbās I did after receiving the Elchis was that he despatched a letter to Jahāngir recommending the cases of the Deccan Sultans,[113] through an Elchi Shah Qulī Beg Luk.[114]

Sec. 20 Shah ʿAbbās I recommends the case of Golconda

Soon after the first major embassy of Shah ʿAbbās I led by Yādgār Sultan Ṭālish was received by Jahāngir in Muharram 1020/March 1611[115] Shah Qulī Beg Luk also reached Delhi in Safar 1020/April 1611 and deliverd, Shah ʿAbbās I's letter of recommendation to Jahāngir.[116]

Shah ʿAbbās requested Jahāngir to be kind to the rulers of the Deccan (Ḥukkām-i-Kirām-i ʿĀlī Maqām-i-Deccan) who had the privilege of being in the neighbourhood of a magnificent king like Jahāngir. He emphasised on the closer

relationship of the Deccan Sultans with Iran and suggested that a favourable attitude might bring peace and popularity. He further requested Jahāngir to overlook their misdemanour (Taqsirāt).[117]

Jahāngir, who had been sending his reinforcements to the Deccan right from 1018/1609 and had entered into negotiations with Ībrāhim ʿĀdil Shahs II in 1019/1610 by sending Mir Jamālu'ddīn Inju[118] and despite his army in the Deccan was getting somewhat disgusted, never seemed to have changed his attitude on receipt of this letter in Safar 1020/April 1611. On 21st Rabi II 1020/23rd June 1611 he revised the Deccan strategy and took steps to reinforce it by appointing ʿAbdullah Khan as the Subedar of the Deccan and effecting many transfers.[119] It is strange that Iranian sources claim that Jahāngir gave up his aggressive attitude against the Deccan on receipt of the letter of recommendation.[120] This contention is not tenable in view of the fact that Jahāngir was firm at his designs on the Deccan. In the meanwhile Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah passed away on 17th Zilqada 1020/11th January 1611 and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.

THE GAME OF DIPLOMATIC DOUBLENESS - THE FOURTH PHASE

Sec. 21 The Iranian envoy Ḥusayn Beg Tabrizi in Golconda

The team of the Deccan Elchis which had proceeded

to Iran in 1018/1609 through sea route should have reached the destiny early in 1019/1610 (see Sec. 19). By that time the strained relations of Iran and Hindustan were at the beginning of a renewed friendship. The Iranian Elchi Yādgār ʿAlī Sultan Ṭālish had reached Delhi and was waiting for an interview to be allowed by Jahāngir who, of course entertained him only in Muharram 1020/1611 (see Sec. 20). The mediation of Iran sought by the Elchis of the Deccan was possible only after the reestablishment of formal and happy relations between Iran and Hindustan. The Golconda Elchi was held up at the Ṣafavī Court at least till 1023/1614 when the other Elchis of the Deccan were relieved together with return Elchis from Iran.[121]

The news of the demise of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah had already reached the Iranian court through Mir Muḥammad Āmin Mir Jumla[122] therefore the return Elchi of Iran had to carry a condolatory-cum-congratulatory mission to his successor Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. Shah ʿAbbās I was aware that Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah was the nephew and son-in-law of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah and had inherited the blood of a Sayyid family from his maternal side. Shah ʿAbbās also knew that he was educated and trained by the renowned scholar, administrator and statesman Mir Muḥammad Mumin Āstrabādī. Obviously all these factual details were brought to the knowledge of Shah ʿAbbās I by his Elchi Uighūrlu Beg Sultan.

In the year 1023/1614 after recommending the case of Golconda and other Sultanates to Jahāngir (see Sec. 20), Shah ʿAbbās I relieved the Elchis of the Deccan except perhaps the Elchi of Golconda. Among the team of the return Elchis Ḥusayn Beg Tabrizi Qāpuchibāshī[123] was sent to Golconda with letters of Shah ʿAbbās I addressed to Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah[124] and Mir Muḥammad Mumin.[125] Ḥusayn Beg Tabrizi left Iran from the port of Hormuz and landed India at the port of Dabhol voyaging in a large ship driven by the Southern Winds (bād-i-Junub). The couriers (Munhiyān) of the port carried the news of his arrival to the Quṭb Shāhī escort which was staying at that port, which further communicated the news to Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. The Sultan deputed Siadat Panah Mir Zain-ul-abidīn Mazandaranī with necessary sanction of money to receive the Iranian envoy at the port of Dabhol.[126] Mir Zain-ul-abidīn Mazandaranī received Ḥusayn Beg Tabrizī at Dabhol and escorted him to the borders of Golconda observing all necessary protocol. On the news of their arrival at the borders of the sultanate, the Sultan deputed Āmbiyā Qulī Khan with a set of nobles to receive the Elchi with his suite at the Golconda border. The guest was brought to the capital with all diplomatic etiquette. In the month of Rajab 1023/August 1614 the Iranian Qāpuchibāshī (embassy) met the monarch at Kālā Chabutrā; he communicated the good wishes of Shah ʿAbbās I and presented to the Quṭb Shah gifts,

including a bejewelled Taj, a sword and a dagger with belt.[127] The Envoy then delivered the letter of Shah 'Abbas I addressed to the Qutb Shahi monarch.

Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah, after accepting the Iranian presents, bestowed a robe of honour on the Elchi and favoured the men of his suite, who were about eighty, with royal presents (tashrifat-i-Shahana-wa-in am). They were provided confortable buildings for their residence. The eighty persons in the train of Husayn Beg Tabrizi were all war leaders (Ghaziyan-i-'Uzzam).[128]

The letter brought by Husayn Beg Tabrizi comprised four hundred and fifty words reflecting on many aspects of relations. Shah 'Abbas I first condoled the death of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and then congratulated the accession of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah. He made references to his 'natural attachment and a feeling of oneness' with the late Sultan.

He informed Muhammad Qutb Shah that of late he had entered into a peace treaty with the Ottoman Emperor, through some mediator, in view of the general welfare of his subject. Shah 'Abbas I expressed his desire to be aware of state of affairs in Golconda and advised Muhammad Qutb Shah to relieve Husayn Beg at an early date so that there should be a quick exchange of Elchis which would enable them to be kept posted

with the state of affairs at each others end. Shah Abbas I informed that he had sent an army to conquer the vilayats of Kich and Makran. This conquest would also enable a quick and easy traffic (Taraddudat) between Iran and the Deccan.

Shah Abbas I also informed that some of the feelings of Muhammad Qutb Shah, on the death of his uncle were narrated to him by Haji Qamber Ali.[129] In the end Shah Abbas I desired a close friendship and promised to extend all possible help to the young Sultan of Golconda.[130]

Sec. 22 Letter of Shah Abbas I to Mir Muhammad Mumin

Shah Abbas I was acquainted with the fact that Mir Muhammad Mumin Astrabadi, who was appointed as the Peshwa of Golconda Sultanate by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and was the preceptor of the new monarch Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah had been continued as Peshwa and was the de facto administrator and framer of Golconda policies. The personality of Mir Mumin was respectfully known to contemporary Iran.

Shah Abbas I after meekly withdrawing his seige of Qandahar and after passively concluding peace with Ottoman Caliph, had procured only a breathing space, more strongly and decisively to regain what he had lost. He had to recover much of his territories from Ottomans and Qandahar from Jahangir. The maintenance of his relations with the Deccan was an important diplomatic measure towards the restoration

of Qandahar.

The presence of Mir Muhammad Mumin in the Deccan was quite promising for a successful execution of the double strategy at Qandahar and the Deccan. The situation for a final and decisive action by Iran was ripening. Shah Abbas I resorted to more intimate relations with the Deccan Sultans especially with Golconda (see Sec.21). As a corollary to the same diplomatic measure he went to the extent of addressing Mir Muhammad Mumin too. Though the form of Shah Abbas I's letter is of a Firman but in all fitness it may be treated as a letter.

In his letter (dated Ramazan 1022) Shah Abbas I addressed Mir Muhammad Mumin with respectful ceremonious phrases and informed him that he should be sure of the Safavi favours by paying first rate attention to all the matters at his end. The Shah wrote that the earlier association of Mir Mumin to the Safavi court was also made known to him. Since the judicious sultans of Golconda were distinguished with their abounding devotion to the household of the prophet there developed sincere terms of relationship between the Safavi and Qutb Shahi houses. Shah Abbas I added that it was for the same reason he held them (Qutb Shahs) in sincere friendship. In such circumstances the presence of a veteran like Mir Muhammad Mumin was a happy coincidence.

Shah Abbas I further added that since by that

time Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shah had passed away and Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah had succeeded him his natural affection compelled him to send a person of his confidence to condole and congratulate. The Shah desired Mir Muḥammad Mumin to do his utmost for the revival of the terms of his attachment with the Ṣafavī court. Mīr Mumin was further advised to handle the situation in such a way as to get the Elchi relieved earlier and should not be held up inordinately as it was done before. Shah ʿAbbas also desired Mir Mumin to keep in touch with him through letters and inform him of what it was required by Golconda. The Shah closed the letter assuring Mir Muḥammad Mumin his abounding royal favours.[131]

Sec. 23 Subjection of the Deccan by Shah Jahan

Conscious of Iranian diplomatic strategy in alliance with the Sultans of the Deccan, Jahangīr was never unheedful of the Deccan affairs. He adhered to Ākbar's policy of reducing the Deccan and went on reinforcing his strategy there. In addition to his earlier reinforcement (see Sec. 20) he sent many more in the subsequent years. In the year 1021/1612 he first sent Chin Qilich Khan to set right the Portuguese (Firangi) interference at the port of Surat[132] and himself revised his action in the Deccan, where hasty action of ʿĀbdullah Khan had resulted in a sort of dissension in the Mughal camp which encouraged the Deccanis to initiate

negotiations with the Mughal nobles posted in the Deccan.[133] It is interesting that in Zilhijja 1021/January 1613 Adil Khan (ʿAdil Shah) submitted his allegiance to the Mughals and proposed that if the Deccan expedition was entrusted to him, he would restore them the territories lost by them. Jahangīr did not accept to the proposal in view of the political situation at that moment.[134]

Late in the year 1024/1615 the armies of the Deccan including lashkars and artillaries of Golconda and Bijapur, led by Malik ʿAmbar, clashed with the Mughals but lost the battle.[135] Golconda and Bijapur felt the risk of Mughal suzerainty and till they received guidance and aid from Iran, deemed it advisable to maintain peaceful relations with Hindustan. They sent Envoys and Peshkash to the Mughal court. The Peshkash sent by Golconda was perused by Jahangīr on 21st Mihr (26th Shaban) 1025/29th August 1616.[136]

By the same year Jahangīr felt that the Deccan strategy could not be carried successfully by prince Parviz, and he took a decision to entrust the Deccan campaign to prince Khurram. Prince Khurram who was then assigned the title of Shah, was seen off for the Deccan on 19th Shawwal 1025/20th October, 1616.[137]

Shah Jahān handled the Deccan situation with such diplomatic tactics in which he employed more political

force than sword and succeeded in receiving allegiance from the Deccan Sultans. On 29th Rabi I 1026/27th March, 1617 Sayyid ʿAbdullah Barha sent by prince Khurram reached Jahangir's camp at Mandu and delivered the letters of the prince informing that all the Deccan Sultans submitted their allegiance. Jahangir took it as a great boon and thanked God. [138] He commented on the success that the Sultans of the Deccan were headstrong, nefarious and revolting, they were duly humbled and made to confess their inferior position and paid their tribute.[139] The Peshkash gathered by Shah Khurram was so enormous that such a huge peshkash was never received by any of the contemporary rulers. By 11th Shawwal 1026/2nd October, 1617 Shah Khurram entered Mandu with the Elchis and peshkash from ʿAdil Shah, Qutb Shah and other rulers of the Deccan. Prince Khurram was warmly received by Jahangir and favoured not only with an enhancement in his rank but also with an unprecendented title of Shah Jahan.[140]

The enormous articles of peshkash brought from the Deccan were seen by Jahangir. The articles of peshkash sent by Muhammad Qutb Shah were evaluated by Jahangir himself. The peshkash of Golconda included a diamond worth thirty thousand rupees; one hundred and fifty elephants out of which three were equipped with chains and other ancilleries made of gold and nine elephants with ancellaries made of silver. These were such nice elephants that at least twenty of them were

selected for Emperor's personal use. Five of the elephants were of an unusual large size and were very famous.[141] These were valued at one lakh rupees each. Besides, there were hundred horses of Arabian and Iraqi breed, three of which were having bejewelled reins.[142]

Shah Jahān's presence in the Deccan caused harrasment to Bijapur and Golconda. On account of its geographical location, as compared with Bijapur, Golconda had to answer the Mughal oppression more by diplomacy than by belligerency. As a matter of immediate diplomatic measure Golconda tried to pacify the Mughals by offering generous peshkash to them but the ultimate loyalty of Golconda was with Iran. It was high time for Golconda to send an Envoy to Shah ʿAbbas I (see Sec. 25). In the year 1028/1619 on the occasion of the celebration of 14th regnal year of Jahangīr, Shah Jahān presented a ruby received in the peshkash of Golconda which included many more articles. An elephant received in Golconda peshkash was so magnificent that Jahangir was pleased immediately to ride it within the courtyard of his palace.[143] Muḥammad Qutb Shah had sent his peshkash and a letter through his vakil Mir Mushrif. According to Jahangīr, Muḥammad Qutb Shah had expressed his sincere attachment and loyalty and requested him to send his portrait which Jahangīr did.[144]

Sec. 24 The Indo-Iranian Perspective of relations

While such were the relations between Golconda and

Hindustan, the relations of Hindustan with Iran were, prima faci at the zenith of good friendship. Ever since 1020/1611 Jahangīr and Shah ʿAbbas I had re-entered into their fabulous friendship, which they called fraternity, they were exchanging fantastic gifts and maintaining a frequent traffic of Elchis.[145] Yet their minds were not free from diplomatic measures against each other. Jahangīr's role was defensive with all magnanimity whereas the role of Shah ʿAbbas I had an inherent offence with lavish pretentions of his love for Jahangīr.

On 3rd Rabi I 1027/18th February, 1618 Mirza Mūḥammad Āmīn the Ex-Mir Jumla of Golconda reached the Mughal court after a considerable stay in Iran. He was retained in the Mughal service.[146] The contemporary Iranian sources mention of his going over to Jahangir as defection (farar) which indicates the real Iranian attitude towards Hindustan.[147] It may not be overlooked that Mirza Mūḥammad Āmīn was fully aware of the state of affairs in Golconda, Bijapur and in Iran. His presence should have been of immense use to Jahangir.

The trilateral diplomatic strategy (i) of Deccan Sultans against the southward expanding Mughal sway, (ii) of Mughals to subjugate the Deccan Sultanates and (iii) of Iran to recover Qandahar was never so active and strong as it was by the close of the third decade of the eleventh century Hijrah 1021/1612 to 1030/1621 which formed a vicious circle

in which both Hindustan and the Deccan Sultanates were going to suffer loss and Iran to gain Qandahar.

Sec. 25 The embassy of Ibn Khatun to Iran

Husayn Beg Tabrizi Qapuchibashi was detained in Golconda for twenty eight months. He was relieved in the middle of the year Zilqada 1025/November, 1616. Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun, a member of the Majlis, an eminent scholar and a Statesman was sent with him as a return Elchi to Iran with necessary formalities. They proceeded via Burhanpur and in their way they paid their respect to Jahangir in Rabi I 1026/March 1617 when he (Jahangir) had encamped at Mandu.[148] Both the Elchis reached Iran and called on Shah Abbas I at Qazvin in 1027/1618 with letters from Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah and Mir Muhammad Mumin addressed to Shah Abbas I. They reached Qazvin at a time when Jahangir's Elchi Khan Alam too had arrived at Qazvin with his unprecendented pomp and glory. It appears from the prominence given by Iranian chroniclers to the account of the arrival of Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun that the Qutb Shahi Elchi was received with all necessary decorum.[149] Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun was detained in Iran as long as Khan Alam stayed there. He was received in the year 1029/1620 with necessary ceremonies along with Qasim Beg Paran Sipah Salar of Mazandaran as his return Elchi.[150] Qasim Beg Paran was entrusted with double mission: one at the Mughal court and the other at Golconda. The Iranian Elchi could call

on Jahangīr at Agra in Khurdad (Rajab) 1030/June 1621 and delivered the letter of Shah ʿAbbas I addressed to Jahangīr together with gifts.[151]

Shah ʿAbbas I, in his letter addressed to Jahangīr, recorded a note of his excessive fraternal attachment and introduced Qāsim Beg Sipah Salar Mazandaran as an old servant of the Ṣafavi family whose forefathers had been serving the Ṣafavi house. The Shah said that Qāsim Beg would inform Jahangir about the state of affairs in Iran he would then proceed to the Deccan. Shah ʿAbbas I stated that the main object of sending that letter and Elchi was to thank Jahangīr for his condonation of the errors of the great Sultans of the Deccan and favouring them with kind attention, which the Shah wrote he had heard. The Shah requested that Qasim Beg should be relieved earlier so that he should proceed to the said Sultans and persuade them to be more loyal and obedient to Jahangīr. At the same time the Shah expressed his hope that Jahangir would always be kind to them, for courtesy always proposed the great rulers to extend their favours to the loyal subordinates. The Shah closed his letter requesting the early dismissal of Qasim Beg and after recording his well wishes.[152]

Despite all such recommendations and requests by Shah ʿAbbas I, Jahangīr did not relieve the Elchis of Iran

and Golconda Qāsim Beg and Ībn Khātūn respectively, for more than a year (see Sec. 28) and maintained his Deccan policy as ever before.

Sec. 26 A successful moment in Golconda - Iran diplomatic strategy

Explanation to the detention of Qasim Beg Paran and Ībn Khātūn at Agra is afforded by the course of events in the context of Indo-Iranian relations during the period. Shah Abbas I, by that time adopted a policy of pretending profound friendly relations with Jahangīr by sending him frequent Envoys, letters and gifts, on the one hand and encroaching on the Western frontiers of Hindustan on the other.[153] That immediate military strategy on the Indo-Iranian borders was reinforced by the diplomatic strategy of Iran in the Deccan which itself was no less than a direct military action as Iran was constantly sending bands of military experts (Ghāziyan-i-ʿUzzam) with his Elchis to Golconda and other Deccan Sultanates.

Regarding the Iranian encroachment on Indian territories, the first was on Kich and Makran which formed, even according to the Iranian sources, a part of the Indian province of Thattah.[154] Shah ʿAbbas I had already informed Sultan Mūḥammad Qutb Shah, about his decision of reducing Kich and Makran (see Sec. 21) in the year 1023/1614. He annexed Kich and Makran early in the year 1030/1621.[155] The

present Elchis Qasim Beg Sipah Salar and Ibn Khatun had reached Agra through the new route of Kich and Makran. Shah ʿAbbas I's annexation of that territory of Hindustan was enough reason for Jahangir to be cautious in allowing a free traffic of Envoys between Iran and the Deccan. It was more dangerous especially when a commander like Qasim Beg Sipah Salar was being sent as an Envoy. Jahangir was hearing the news of Shah Abbas I's further designs of reducing Qandahar.[156]

By the same time, the Deccan Sultans were organising themselves into a military alliance under the leadership of Malik Ambar while Shah Jahan was busy at Kangra and Jahangir staying at Kashmir. Ambar with an allied force of sixty thousand soldiers attacked the Mughal army which was staying in Ahmadnagar and its suburbs under the command of ʿAbdu'rrahim Khan-i-Khanan; and drove them back upto Burhanpur. By the end of 1029/1620 Jahangir deputed Shah Jahan again to lead the Deccan campaign, who in the middle of the year 1030 subjugated the allied Deccani forces and made Malik Ambar execute a treaty according to which he had to pay a tribute and reparations of war (jarima).[157]

Before the deputation of Shah Jahan, Jahangir informed Shah ʿAbbas I that the Sultans of the Deccan were revolting and not adhering to the covenants arrived at earlier. He therefore deputed Shah Jahan with a lashkar, on the Deccan Campaigns.[158] Presumably by the same time Shah ʿAbbas I wrote another recommendatory letter to Jahangir.

Expressing his feelings of abundant love and sincerity, the Shah wrote that it was but natural to enter into a dialogue on some actual matters which might have already been perceived by the enlightened mind of Jahangīr. He therefore took liberty to talk about the great Sultans (Salatin-i- Uzzam) of the Deccan, who had been submissive (muti) and tributary (baj guzar) to his (Jahangīr's) illustrious house. He further strened that the Sultans of the Deccan were the devotees of the Safavi family from olden days. He wrote that from the beginning of his reign till that day he had been persistantly trying to revive the traditions of his ancestors, (a reference to his efforts for popularising the Shia faith) and had been doing his utmost to maintain the traditions of friendship and old contacts. He recommended the case of the Deccan Sultans saying that if however they had committed anything against the supreme disposition of Jahangīr it could be condoned for the sake of a sincere friend like him. He requested Jahangir to let the world know that their friendship was so close that they never cared for loosing their territories for each other.[159]

The recommendations of Shah ʿAbbas I did not carry any effect. Jahangīr in one of his letters had already informed him about assigning the Deccan campaign to Shah Jahān and in the same letter he had complained about Shah Ābbas I's intentions to reduce Qandahar and expressed his utmost surprise.[160] The news of Shah ʿAbbas I's intention to take over Qandahar

was repeatedly received by Jahangīr early in the year 1031/1622 while one of the major Envoys of Iran, Zainal Beg, had been staying at the Mughal Court.[161] To the utter surprise of Jahangīr, Shah Abbas I annexed Qandahar on 11th Shaban 1031/11th June 1622.[162]

The same year Nūr Jahān's manipulations to get Parviz declared as heir apparent led Shah Jahān to turn a rebel against Jahangīr. It was by that time Jahangīr's health was deteriorating. Such circumstances loosened the Mughal hold of the Deccan at least till 1035/1626 when Shah Jahān withdrew his rebellion submitted his apologies to Jahangīr and was again at the helm of affairs in the Deccan.

Jahangīr passed away on 27th Safar 1037/28th October 1627 and was succeeded by his son Shah Jahān.

SINKING SULTANATE - THE FIFTH PHASE

Sec. 27 The Changing Perspective

During the period between 1030/1620 to 1040/1630 major changes took place in Golconda, Iran, Hindustan and elsewhere chiefly on account of the deaths of the rulers and statesmen. It had therefore its own impact on the contemporary international politics. In Golconda Iranian Elchi Qāsim Beg Paran died in 1034/1625.[163] The same year, the great Statesman of Golconda Mīr Muḥammad Mumin passed away on 2nd Jumada I 1034/31st January, 1625.[164] Sultan Muḥammad Qutb Shah died on

13th Jumada I 1035/31st January 1626 and was succeeded by his son ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah who had not completed even twelve years of his age.[165]

In Bijapur the seasoned monarch and so called Jagat Guru Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shah passed away on 11th Muharram 1037/12th September, 1627 and was succeeded by his son Sultan Muhammad ʿAdil Shah who was only 15 years old. The Nizam Shahi ruler Murtuza II, weak and subjected, died in 1039/1630. The great Abyssinian saviour and military wizard of the Deccan, Malik ʿAmbar passed away on 25th Sha'ban 1035/12th May, 1626.[166] The death of this defender of the Deccan removed the barier to Mughal advance in that province and facilitated their aim of expansion.

In Hindustan prince Shah Jahan elated with his success in the Deccan campaigns felt his prospects, for accession to throne, turning obscure on account of Nur Jahan's manipulations in favour of the inept prince Shahryār. As a measure to keep Shah Jahan away from the helm of affairs she got orders issued for his posting to Qandahar in the year 1031/1622. Shah Jahān refused to comply. The disobedience was treated as revolt and consequently it became a reality. Shah Jahān continued to be a rebel for some time during which period he had occasions vastly to travel in India, and also to enter into contacts with the Iranian Monarch Shah ʿAbbas I through correspondence. He also travelled through the territories of Golconda and Bijapur.[167]

Jahangir died on 28th Safar 1037/29th October, 1627 at the age of sixty and was succeeded by Shah Jahan on 7th Jumada II 1037/3rd February, 1628. Shah Jahan was thirty six years old at the time of his succession.

In Iran Shah Abbas I died on 25th Jumada I 1038/10th January, 1629 and was succeeded by his inexperienced, untrained and meek grandson Sam Mirza known as Shah Safi who was sixteen years old.[168]

In Turan Imam Quli Khan was trying to engineer a trilateral strategy against Iran, joining hands with Jahangir of Hindustan and Murad IV of Ottoman Empire. He issued letters to them in 1035/1625-26.[169]

In Ottoman Empire the weak Sultan Mustafa was succeeded by the twelve years old Sultan Murad IV in the year 1032/1623. His vizir Hafiz Ahmad Pasha had been leading the policy of expansionist in the Safavi territory of Iran. His military oppressions in the parts of Azarbaijan and Iraq-e-Arab continued through the first half of the reign of Sultan Murad IV. During the nineth year of Murad's reign Hafiz Ahmad Pasha known as the Grand Vizir was assassinated in a mutiny led by his own sepoys and Janissaries; a scene which was passively observed by Murad IV. It was that incident which provoked Murad IV to rise against the mutineers with the best of his abilities and carry on the policy of Hafiz Ahmad Pasha.

Murād IV led his campaign against Irvan and Baghdad. Though Irvan was restored to Iran under the old treaty of 1555 but Baghdad was lost for ever by Iran. The eight years of disturbances from 1032 to 1040/1623 to 1631 led by the Grand Vizir and then the next eight years of more irresistable campaign led by Sultan Murād IV, kept Iran in a state of constant struggle on its western frontiers.[170]

Sec. 28 Embassy of Khayrat Khan to Iran

Coming to Golconda again, it is not known as to when Qasim Beg Paran the Iranian Elchi and Ibn Khātūn were able to obtain Jahangīr's permission to proceed to Golconda. Nevertheless the two envoys reached Hyderabad by 1032/1623.[171]

Before Muḥammad Qutb Shah could enter into any further diplomatic contacts with Iran, the Iranian Elchi Qāsim Beg Paran died at Golconda in 1034/1625. Muḥammad Qulī Beg the son of the late Elchi who had accompanied his father to Golconda was of course present. Since he was a person capable of carrying his father's mission, ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah took him as the successor of Qasim Beg.[172]

In the year 1037/1628 Muḥammad Qulī Beg son of Qāsim Beg Paran was relieved with Khayrat Khan Sar Naubat as the return Elchi of Golconda. Muḥammad Qulī Beg was seen off with his entire suite with all ceremonies according to

the Book of Protocol.[173] For the Iranian monarch gifts comprising jewellery, various types of textiles and other bejewelled articles together with a letter were entrusted to him. They proceeded to the port of Surat with a view to sail through the Uman Sea. Arriving at Surat they were directed by the Mughal officials first to go to the Imperial Court at Agra[174] where they called on the Emperor on 15th Zilhijja 1037/6th August, 1628. Shah Jahan honoured Muḥammad Qulī with robes and 15000 rupees by way of in am.[175] The two Elchis then sailed in an English ship and reached Bandar ʿAbbas early in the year 1038/February, 1629 where they heard of the demise of Shah ʿĀbbas I (which took place on 25th Jumada I 1038/10th January, 1629).[176]

On 29th Shaban 1038/13th April, 1629 Khayrat Khan's letter conveying the news of the demise of Abbas I in Farahbad (Mazandaran), despatched from Bandar Abbas, was received in Golconda. Nevertheless the two Elchis having so communicated the news to Golconda, proceeded to Isfahan and called on the new monarch Shah Safi and delivered the articles of gift and the letter which pleased Shah Ṣafi very much.[177]

The letter carried by Khayrāt Khan was actually addressed to Shah ʿĀbbas I and was delivered to his successor Shah Safi Ṣafavi. The style and the tenor of that letter is

quite sober and dignified reflecting a revived confidence. After a beautiful and detailed ceremonial part of address the letter served three objects. Firstly, Shah 'Abbas I was congratulated on his recapture of Qandahar. He also expressed his happiness at the victory and more so at the defeat of the Mughals taking this victory as an initial step towards overthrowing Mughal suzerainty. He mildly protested that the news of the victory was not communicated to him.

Secondly 'Abdullah Qutb Shah officially informed the Safavi ruler of the death of the Iranian Elchi Qāsīm Beg Paran[178] Sipah Salar commending his good services and the reasons for sending Muhammad Qulī Beg, the son of the deceased who too was a good person like his father, accompanied with Khayrāt Khan Sar Naubat of Khassa Khayl, as return Elchi. 'Abdullah Qutb Shah then recorded his credentials for Khayrāt Khan carrying to the effect that the Elchi should be taken in full confidence by the Iranian monarch.

The third and the concluding part of the letter was too short wherein 'Abdullah Qutb Shah expressed the traditional attachment of the two houses, assured his loyalty and devotion and after requesting favourable attention of Shah Safi, informed him that the actual message would be conveyed orally by his Elchi.[179]

The Golconda Elchi was favoured by Shah Safi not only

with the robe of honour and grant of horses with golden ancillaries but also with the special assignment of a village (qariya) where the relations and the Kinsmen (aqwam-wa-avimaq) of Khayrāt Khan had been living in Iran. This assignment was rent free (being in am).[180]

Khayrat Khan was detained at the court of Shah Ṣafi, at least for four and a half years. He was regularly communicating news regarding developments in Iran, and was receiving gifts and information from Golconda as well. In the year 1041/1631 Ābdūllah Qutb Shah sent him robes and gifts according to the Book of Protocol.[181] He is expected to have been relieved early in 1043/1633.

Sec. 29 The Deed of Submission

The immediate phase of Hindustan and Golconda relations manifested cordiality and regards. For the first time a Mughal prince (Shah Jahān) sent a formal embassy through Īkhlas Khan Qazvini with a letter to Golconda in 1035/1626 to condole the death of Sultan Muḥammad Qutb Shah and congratulate ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah.[182] It was for the obvious reason that Shah Jahān had sought a refuge and help from Muḥammad Quṭb Shah while he revolted against Jahāngīr in the preceding years. (see Sec. 27)

Similarly ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah sent a congratulatory letter with peshkash to Shah Jahān which was received by the

latter on 15th Zilhijja 1037/6th August, 1628 at Agra.[183] It is interesting to note that Shah Jahān allowed audience to the bearers of congratulatory letter and peshkash from Golconda on the same day when he allowed an audience to Muḥammad Qulī Beg and Khayrāt Khan called for by him from Surat while they were proceeding to Iran.[184]

The semblance of cordiality and friendliness could not be maintained for long. The subsequent events testified that both Shah Jahan and ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah were set upon a total destruction of each other, which Shah Jahān was trying through his ever increasing political pressure on Golconda on the one hand and hasty alliances and disalliances with Iran and Uzbegs on the other; while ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah, unable to stand his grounds, was constantly looking at Iran or rather instigating her to crush the Mughals.

The Mughal pressure on Golconda was both military and political frequently getting short of sobriety. Golconda was paying tribute but the Mughals were demanding more and more by posting their representatives to collect peshkash not only in terms of specific amounts but also in terms of specific articles according to schedules with instructions to furnish on the specific dates and places.[185]

In Shawwal 1040/1631 Mughal forces commanded by Muḥammad Bāquīr Najm Ṣānī dashed inside Golconda territories

beyond their common borders in Orissa. He was defended by the Qutb Shahi Sar lashkar Āfzal Khan Tarka. Peace was negotiated at the instance of Shah Jahān who issued Firmans for the withdrawal of Mughal forces from Golconda territories.[186]

The Qutb Shahi peshkash received in 1042/1633 was to the tune of 50 lakh rupees. Golconda and other Sultanates of the Deccan left apparently no grounds for Mughals to oppress them anymore. The subsequent Mughal interference continued in the internal matters of the Deccan Sultanates. Shah Jahān wanted that the Shi'ite faith, as State religion, should be abandoned and substituted by Sunni faith and practices. The demand had its own political implications as shall be revealed subsequently.

On 10th Muharram 1045/16th June, 1635 Shah Jahān issued a Firman to Golconda through Ābdul Latīf Gujarati in which he demanded that (i) the name of the Shah of Iran should be dropped from Khutbah and the name of Shah Jahān should be read in place of it (ii) the arrears of peshkash should be submitted at once in accordance with the statement enclosed. The Firman also contained a warning against the Shi'ite practice of condemning the Three Companions of the prophet. The Firman comprising more than 500 words was closed on a final warning that in case it was not compiled with, the Mughal forces would march to

Golconda. The same Firman contented that it was a lenient attitude shown to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah in view of the good services which late Mūḥammad Qutb Shah had rendered to Shah Jahān. As a token of kindness and favour Shah Jahan assigned the governance (Ayalat) of Golconda to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah and desired him to execute a Deed of Submission (Inqiyad Namah[187]).

Shāikh Ābdul Latīf reached Golconda on 8th Ramazan 1045/5th February, 1636 and was received by Karim Khan and Mir Mu izu'ddin Mūḥammad.[188] He stayed in Golconda upto the end of the year 1045/1636 and returned in Muharram 1046/June, 1636 with Shāikh Mūḥammad Ṭāhīr.[189] Qutb Shahi sources describe the mission of Abdul Latif as less successful and mention the Deed of Submission as a treaty of Concord.[190]

The Deed of Submission concluded by Ābdūllah Qutb Shah in Ẓilhijja 1045/May, 1636 comprised over 450 words recorded to the effect of rendering Ābdūllah Qutb Shah absolutely submissive to the Mughals. Some of the salient features of the Deed of Submission which Ābdūllah Qutb Shah executed swearing on the Quran in the presence of the Mughal Political Agent Ābdul Latīf were that

(i) The names of Twelve Imams should be substituted with the names of four orthodox Caliphs and the name of the Iranian monarch should be

replaced by the name of the Mughal emperor in Khutbah;

(ii) The gold and silver coins would be struck with the dies sent by the Mughal emperor;

(iii) A tribute of 2 lakhs of Huns equal to 8 lakhs of rupees would be remitted to the Imperial treasury from the 9th regnal year of Shah Jahān;

(iv) Abdullah Qutb Shah would prove a sincere friend to the friends of the Mughal empire and an enemy to its enemies;

(v) In view of the above terms Emperor Shah Jahān assigned the territories (Nahiya) of Golconda to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah.[191]

That according to Jādunāth Sarkār rendered Golconda a vassal State.[192] In response to the above Deed of Submission Shah Jahān recorded a covenant (Ahadnamah), got it inscribed on a gold plate and sent to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah through Khwaja Muhammad Zahid who accompanied Muhammad Tāhir Hājib of Golconda.

The covenant dated 7th Rabi II 1046/29th August, 1636 is quite brief. The most significant part of this covenant was that Shah Jahān promised swearing on

oath to God and His prophet that so long Qutb ul Mulk would adhere to his Deed of Submission Shah Jahān and his descendants would not interfere in the affairs of ʿAbdūllah and his descendants. It was recorded that The Covenant would be observed as sacred as a divine Plate (Lauh-i-Mahfuz).[193]

SECRET RELATIONS - THE SIXTH PHASE

Sec. 30 Ambitious strategy of Shah Jahān

While Shah Jahān was thus oppressing Golconda, he was designing much too an ambitious strategy of first taking Qandahar from Iran and then conquering his ancestral land of Turan. The young Shah Ṣafi was engaged in defending Ottoman invasions on the western frontiers. Shah Jahan did not make any delay in taking his diplomatic measure for the recovery of Qandahar. He was in the know of ʿAlī Mardān Khan's unhappy terms with Shah Ṣafi and could manipulate to render him in such a position from where he had no choice but to cross over to the Mughal side. He took over Qandahar in 1047/1638 a year after getting the Deed of Submission executed by Golconda an event which was officially communicated by Shah Jahan to Shah Ṣafi. The situation profoundly spoke about the dominating authority and power of Shah Jahān.[194]

The traffic of Elchis, of course, continued between Iran and Hindustan. Consequent on the annexation

of Qandahar Shah Jahān sent a letter to Shah Ṣafi to keep up friendly relations and offered 'to pay every year a sum equal to the revenue of Qandahar'. Shah Ṣafi who was well aware of the Mughal oppression on the Deccan which was naturally to his displeasure was further provoked by the Mughal annexation of Qandahar and defection of ʿAlī Mardān Khan. Early in the year 1049/1639 he concluded peace with Murad IV at the cost of Baghdad and started large preparations to recover Qandahar. However before he could reach Qandahar, he died at Kashan on 12th Safar 1052/16th May 1642 and was succeeded by his son Shah ʿAbbas II.

Ever since the conquest of Qandahar by the Mughals their relations with Iran remained strained. Shah Jahan for some more time to come continued to be the master of situation.

Sec. 31 Iranian Elchi Īmām Qulī in Golconda

Khayrāt Khan returned accompanied with Īmām Qulī Beg Shāmlū, a State Messenger (Yasawal) from Iran. They moved to India via Qandahar and first called on the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahān at Bagh Hafiz Rakhna on 21st Ramazan 1043/11th March, 1634 while the Emperor was moving over to Lahore. As that was the earlier stage of contacts between Shah Ṣafi and Shah Jahān their formal relations

were quite amicable. Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū delivered the letter of Shah Safi to Shah Jahān together with several rare and valuable presents sent by the Iranian monarch. Shah Jahān favoured the Elchi with a robe of honour and a cash grant of 40,000 rupees.[195]

Shah Safi's letter addressed to Shah Jahān was brief and restrained, reflecting that the Iranian monarch was failing in a proper orientation of his policy in relation to India. 'If I speak, the matter deflects therefore', the Shah said, 'I want to express myself through silence'. With such scrupulous attitude he first requested Shah Jahan to maintain friendly relations as their ancestors did. He then informed that Imām Qulī Beg yasawal was being sent on an ambassadorial mission (rasm-i-sifarat) to Sultan Abdūllah Qutb Shah on account of the old and sincere relations between the two houses.[196]

On 1st Zilqada 1043/19th April, 1634 the news of their arrival at the frontiers of Golconda was received by Abdūllah Qutb Shah with great happiness. Mir Mu izu'ddin Muhammad Mushrif-ul-Mumalik received them at the entrance of the kingdom with all protocol. Necessary monetary sanction was accorded for Mu izu'ddin Muhammad to meet the expenditure of reception. When the Elchis and the Chief of Protocol neared the city they were received under royal orders, by

Shaikh Muhammad Tahir, Sar Khayl Shahi and a grand feast was arranged for the guest. At the third stage Yulchi Beg the vizir was sent by an armed military in colourful uniform which gave a formal reception to the Elchi at a place about four miles in the North of the capital. On 17th Zilqada 1043/5th May, 1634[197] Abdullah Qutb Shah himself rode to that place to welcome the Elchi. The place was named as Khayratabad to commemorate the event. Imam Quli Beg was again received by Abdullah Qutb Shah at the court and favoured with different honours. The Elchi delivered the articles of gift comprising horses from Iraq, a bejewelled Taj, weapons, carpets of Kirman and Jausaqan (near Rey) and several other items of textile and the 'letter'.

The letter brought by Imam Quli Beg was congratulatory on the accession of Abdullah Qutb Shah. The monarch had a discourse with the Elchi about Shah Safi and the States of affairs in Iran. Mir Mu izu'ddin Muhammad Mushrif-ul-Mumalik was asked to attend upon him. The Elchi was provided with the garden of Mir Muhammad Amin Mir Jumla (who had of course left Golconda long back[198]) with elephants, horses and other amenities. Abdullah Qutb Shah invited him at a banquet arranged in the royal palace. For his subsistance Imam Quli Beg was assigned the pargana of Mujahidpur rendering an annual revenue of two to three thousand Huns (a gold coin: a pagoda) and a cash grant of one thousand Huns

with one hundred khandi (equal to two thousand maunds) of food grains and several other facilities and emoluments.[199]

Īmām Qulī and Khayrāt Khan were favoured with presents and other honours on many occasions. On one occasion 'Abdullah Qutb Shah himself paid a visit to the house of Īmām Qulī Beg.[200]

The Iranian Elchi had come to Golconda at a time when the Sultanate was under Mughal pressure which was stronger than ever before. The pressure was ultimately to lead to the Deed of Submission (Sec. 29). Little is known about the political and diplomatic activities of Īmām Quli Beg in Golconda but it may be kept in view that all the events in Golconda-Hindustan relations, before and after the execution of the Deed of Submission, took place while Īmām Qulī Beg was present in Golconda. His presence at the very theatre of operation suggests that important decisions respecting relations with the Mughals were not taken without consultations with him.

Apparently Golconda does not seem to have sent any Envoy to Iran during the stay of Īmām Qulī Beg Shāmlū. Yet there is a possibility of communicating secret messages through secret elchis. It is conjectured that Iran was kept informed of the developments in Golconda which necessitated the deputation of the second embassy of Āsadullah Beg Kark Yaraq who reached Golconda a year after the Deed of Submission.

In the month of Zilhijja 1046/April 1637 Mirza Āsadullah Beg Tabrizī, Kark Yaraq arrived at Golconda with a letter from Shah Ṣafi addressed to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah.[201] The Elchi was called to the huzur (presence) of Ābdūllah Qutb Shah who favoured him with an interview and a robe of honour. The Elchi was provided with a magnificent house and other facilities. The nobles and high officials invited him to dinner and entertained him in different ways. Unfortunately the Elchi was seized by dysentry. The Indian and Iranian physicians tried their utmost but he expired after a few days.[202] His brother Mirza Mūḥammad Jauhari, who was staying at Golconda, took care of the effects of the deceased.[203] His funeral was attended by the Shi'ite nobles at the capital.[204] The quick and sudden death of Mirza Āsadullah Beg Kark Yaraq did not obviously allow him to play any major role, but as it appears from the word Kark Yaraq (the chief of ordnance) that he should have come, as he had come earlier, as a military adviser for the Qutb Shahi ordnance and artillery (Sec. 15).

Sec. 32 The royal pilgrims

Yearning for peace, territorial solidarity and internal freedom, Golconda executed the Deed of Submission, consequent on which, instead of attaining satisfaction, it found itself rather more tantalised. It could hardly keep

up open relations with Iran, as it would be subject to serious objection by the Mughals. Golconda had therefore to resort to secret contacts with Iran for which there developed some natural channels by the migration of Abdullah Qutb Shah's aunt to Iran.

In the year 1047/1638 consequent on the death of Shah Muhammad, Abdullah Qutb Shah's grandmother Khanam Agha and his aunt Shahr Banu, who were related to the family of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmani and thus to the Safavi family; were permitted by Abdullah Qutb Shah to proceed on Haj pilgrimage escorted by Qazi Zahiru'ddin Muhammad Najafi, who too was perhaps a member of the same house.[205] The pilgrims were further escorted upto Masulipatam by Khayrat Khan the vizir. On 1st Rajab 1047/9th November, 1637 they proceeded in the ship of Shaykh Muhammad Malik Shirazi, a renowned merchant, in the direction of Bandar Abbas first to go to Iraq-e-Arab and then to Mecca.[206] Since by that time Sultan Murad IV had captured Baghdad, (Sec. 27) they had to discontinue their journey and stayed at Isfahan the then capital of Iran.[207] Early in the year 1049/1639 Mirza Muhammad Mashhadi and Khwaja Abdul Ali Ardastani, the merchants were given money by Abdullah Qutb Shah to purchase certain articles from Iraq-e-Ajam and carry the same to the above royal ladies at Isfahan. According to the Iranian sources the royal ladies of Golconda reached Qazvin in 1049/1640 and were granted audience by Shah Safi.[208]

Their sojourn to Mashhad was a part of their pilgrimage, regarding which Ābdūllah Qutb Shah had sent a letter to Shah Ṣafi which was delivered to him by Qāẓi Ẓahiru'ddin in Qazvin.[209] Shah Ṣafi immediately responded to the letter informing Ābdūllah Qutb Shah about their safe arrival in Iran and further assured him that they would be royal guests and would therefore be provided with all necessary facilities and could proceed to Mecca whenever they pleased. In that letter, which was sent through Sayyid Muẓaffar Murtuẓa, a person of the retinue of the royal ladies on the pilgrimage, Shah Ṣafi added a few sentences to the effect of the renewal of their friendship and desired Ābdūllah Qutb Shah to keep in touch through letters.[210]

Khānam Āgha the grandmother of Ābdūllah Qutb Shah died at Isfahan early in the year 1050/1640 and was burried at Mashhad.[211] Ābdūllah Qutb Shah's aunt Shahr Banū who was staying with the royal family of Iran probably remained in Iran for good. Monetary help was being sent to her from Golconda.[212] Shahr Banū and her nephew Najābat Khan[213] played an important role in the relations of Golconda with Iran by serving an agency to communicate political messages to Shah Safi and subsequently to Shah Ābbas II particularly after the defection of Mir Jumla Mir Muḥammad Sa'id.

Sec. 33. The embassy of Ḥakīm ul Mulk to Iran

Īmām Qulī Beg Shamlu had to stay in Golconda for about seven years and perhaps got disgusted with the atmosphere of Golconda changing under Mughal influence. In Rajab 1049/November 1639 Īmām Qulī Beg made up to return probably without seeking a formal permission from Ābdūllah Qutb Shah. He therefore set out and encamped at a station outside the city. Ābdūllah Qutb Shah had by the same time, decided to proceed on a tour to Masulipatam. He immediately issued a Firman regarding the categories of persons who would accompany him which included the category of envoys as well. A separate Firman was therefore issued to Īmām Qulī Beg to come back and join his train. The Elchi was again favoured with presents according to high protocol.[214] He accompanied ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah in his journey to Masulipatam and back taking about two months.[215] Golconda sources give a very elaborate account of Ābdūllah Qutb Shah's favours frequently bestowed on Īmām Qulī Beg.[216] He was relieved with all ceremony with Hakim ul Mulk Hakim Nizāmu'ddin Gīlani as return Elchi of Golconda in the month of Shaban 1050/November, 1640 and proceeded from Dabhul to Bandar ʿAbbas. By the same time Hakim-ul-Mulk's son had returned from Isfahan and was given a place in the Majlis.[217] The two Elchis reached Iran in 1051/1641.[218]

While Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk Ḥakīm was staying in Iran as Elchi of Golconda Shah Ṣafi passed away on 12th Ṣafar 1052/2nd May 1642[219] at Kashan. Though the news of his death reached Golconda immediately but it was officially confirmed by Hakim-ul-Mulk through his letter which reached there by Ẓilqada 1052/January, 1643.[220] This letter was brought by Muhammad Sadiq and Muḥammad Ṭāhir[221] of Hakim-ul-Mulk's suite.

It appears that Abdullah Qutb Shah did not feel the need of sending a separate congratulatory-cum-condolatory embassy to Shah Ābbas II while Hakim-ul-Mulk was already there. He therefore issued a Firman to Hakim-ul-Mulk early in Ẓilqada 1053/January 1644 to condole the death of Shah Ṣafi and congratulate the accession of Shah Ābbas II.[222]

Hakim-ul-Mulk stayed in Iran at least upto 1056/1646 and returned to Golconda sometime before 1063/1653. During the span of one decade after Hakim-ul-Mulk's departure with Imām Quli Beg, there is no evidence of any political envoy sent from Golconda to Iran and vice versa. Nevertheless in 1058/1648 Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatūn, greatest of Golconda diplomats proceeded for Haj pilgrimage from the port of Masulipatam but early the next year 1059/1649 he met his death in a ship wreck. The gifts carried by Ibn Khatūn for Shah Ābbas II could however be saved by the men in his

suite and should have been carried subsequently to the king as arranged by his aunt.[223]

THE LAST DESPARATE EFFORT - THE SEVENTH PHASE

Sec. 34 Mughal diversion to the Deccan

Shah Jahān, after oppressing Golconda to submission in 1046/1636 (see Sec. 29) and annexing Qandahar in 1047/1638 was set upon realising his ambitions regarding Turan. From thenceforward all his potentialities were diverted towards Balkh and Badakhshan which he occupied with military as well as diplomatic tactics by 1056/1646.

During the time Shah Jahān was busy in his ambitious campaign in Turan, Golconda passively went on submitting peshkash to the Mughals and was expanding its territories in the south with the help of its able Prime Minister (Mir Jumla) Mir Muḥammad Saʿid. The newly added territories of Taraf Karnatak enriched Golconda with their diamond mines, developed harbours and additional amount of peshkash from the peasantry and tradesmen, while Shah Jahān's campaigns of Turan cost him much above his calculations. Above all he had to lose Qandahar as well as Balkh and Badakhshan by 1059/1648. Failure of Shah Jahan in the fulfilment of his ambitions proved the defeat of his foreign policy which rendered him forlon. His relations were disconnected with

Iran for the rest of his reign.[224] He had to re-start his campaigns of Qandahar through his sons who had by that time gained enough experience. In the year 1064/1653 prince Aurangzeb, was again sent as the viceroy of the Deccan, which marked the beginning of a new phase in this relational history. As Jahangir had inherited magnanimity of Akbar, Aurangzeb inherited ambitions of Shah Jahān. He was quick enough to take notice of the changing affairs in the Deccan where he had come again after an interval of ten years.

Sec. 35 Defection of Mīr Jumla

The first significant event which took place during second tenure of Āurangzeb's viceroyalty was the conflict between ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah and his Prime Minister (Mir Jumla) Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id and the latter's defection. The immensity of the riches hoarded by Mir Jumla, his military acueman his political command and his respectful contacts with Iran, the Firangis, and some of the princes of Karnatak[225] all placed him in a unique position. Since ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah turned both jealous and afraid of his personality Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id made up to cross over to some suitable camp. Prince Āurangzeb did not make any delay in giving him a warm reception. Consequent on the receipt of a letter from Mir Jumla Prince Āurangzeb addressed ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah a letter (Yarligh) dated 2nd Rabi I 1066/20th December, 1655

informing him that Mir Muhammad Sa'id was assigned a mansab of 5000 Zat, 5000 Sawar in the hierarchical order of Mughal nobility. Therefore he should be relieved without delay and sent to the Mughal Court with his son and dependents along with Mir Abul Qasim and Sayyid Ali who had carried the letter. Abdullah Qutb Shah was further menaced with an attack in case of not complying with the Imperial Orders.[226]

Though Abdullah Qutb Shah did not attempt at detaining Mir Muhammad Sa'id but he imprisoned his son Muhammad Amin in violation of the specific orders contained in Aurangzeb's letter. It justified, according to the Mughals, an invasion with which he was already warned by Aurangzeb.

Prince Aurangzeb issued reminders to Abdullah Qutb Shah advising him immediately, to relieve Muhammad Amin.[227] Abdullah Qutb Shah did not comply with any of the orders and the Mughal army marched under Prince Sultan Muhammad towards Hyderabad and laid seige to Golconda fort by 5th Rabi II 1066/22nd January, 1656.[228]

It is interesting that Hakim-ul-Mulk who called on Prince Sultan Muhammad for presenting gifts and to initiate negotiations on behalf of Abdullah Qutb Shah, was detained in the military Camp (Urdu) of the Mughal prince

till Muhammad Amin was released.[229]

On 3rd Rabi II/20th January prince Aurangzeb left Aurangabad and arrived at Hyderabad in 13 days. Negotiations continued till the end of Jumada II during which Muhammad Amin (son of Mir Jumla) and his mother were released and sent to the Mughal camp with their effects and belongings. 'Abdullah Qutb Shah paid heavy amounts towards peshkash in accordance with the terms of peace[230] or as war indemnity and gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad. The marriage took place on the morning of 18th Jumada II 1066/3rd April, 1656 as per the Hanafite tradition of Muslims.[231]

During the course of the siege and negotiations, a few skirmishes had taken place between the Mughal and Qutb Shahi forces, which provoked the Mughal army to start plundering Hyderabad city.[232]

The account of Mughal seige of Golconda, their devastation of Hyderabad city and the details of their exploits have been variably recorded by Mughal and Golconda sources (see Sec. 36).

Sec. 36 'Abdullah Qutb Shah's letter to Shah 'Abbas II

Early in the year 1067/1656 prince Aurangzeb started his campaign against Bijapur, with Mir Muhammad Sa'id

who was then entitled as Mu'azzam Khan by Shah Jahān. Sultan Ābdullah Qutb Shah apprehended the probable Mughal advancement towards Golconda. He therefore addressed Shah Ābbas II a letter dated Rabi II 1067/January, 1657 informing him about the details of the Mughal invasion led by prince Āurangzeb in the preceding year and the probability of a repetition of the same. He also requested Shah Abbas II for help suggesting some ways for strategic diplomacy.

This diplomatic letter comprising about 1400 words was perhaps the most intrepid action ever ventured upon by any of the Qutb Shahi Sultans. After a brief ceremonial opening Àbdūllah Qutb Shah wrote that Shah Ābbas II was the promoter of the faith of the Twelvers (Asna Ashra) and had inherited the disposition of the prophet of Islam. He would therefore be ever victorious. As usual he emphasised the ancestral affinity of the two houses and expressed his personal devotion to the Safavi household. He recalled that during the reign of late Shah Ābbas I, whenever Golconda was oppressed by the Mughals the late Shah rescued it either by mediation or by the demonstration of his force.

Ābdūllah Qutb Shah expressed his regret that he could not enter into formal relations with the Shah on account of the reason that the Mughals were always inquisitive about the activities in Golconda, and any correspondence between

Golconda and Iran could provoke the Mughals, therefore he resorted to secret contacts.[233]

ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah informed Shah ʿAbbās II that during the year 1065/1655 he had to face many a troublesome events that to cope up even with a single incident was beyond his capacity. The most significant of those events was the defection of Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id (Mir Jumla) who resorted to revolt and violence.

ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah in this letter referred to Shah Jahān as mere Sultan Khurram and charged him with the breach of earlier covenants. He informed Shah Ābbās II that Sultan Khurram deputed prince Āurangzeb with a cavalry of thirty thousand to invade Golconda while Mūḥammad Sa'id as it was arranged between themselves proceeded from the other side with a cavalry of six thousand and an infantry of seventy thousand mustered from Karnatak.[234] He then narrated the details of how Mughal army plundered the city of Hyderabad and then laid seige to Golconda fort. As the seige was prolonged and no help was received from anywhere ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah negotiated peace which was concluded on the payment of twenty lakhs of Huns (which were equal to three hundred thousand Tomans as Ābdūllah explained) and matrimonial alliance (Musahirat). More over the province of Karnatak which was captured and brought under Qutb Shahi sway after fighting for many years and spending crores of

rupees had been assigned to Mūhammad Sa'id by Shah Jahān by way of In am.[235]

'Abdullah Qutb Shah further wrote that mischief of Mīr Jumla had not come to an end. On 14th Rabi II 1067/20th January 1657 Mir Jumla was again reported to be advancing speedily with a cavalry of thirty thousand to capture Hyderabad, Bījāpūr and Qutb Shahi province of Taraf Karnatak.

Ābdūllah Qutb Shah added that a great calamity had fallen on him, the state of affairs went beyond his control and he was left helpless. He made an appeal to the religious zeal, the party spirit and the patronal nature of Shah Ābbas II with a hope that he will not allow Golconda to be oppressed by the Mughals. It was a Sultanate where the sacred call of 'Alīyun Walīullah'[236] echoed for over one hundred and seventy years and which was chosen by many Shīah immigrants for their abode.

Finally he expressed his willingness to pay the expenditure of the forces that would be employed on the borders of Qandahar for giving a set back to the mischief mongers (Mughals). The same would be remitted at a proper time through the vakils of his private estate (Khāssa Sharifa). In the meanwhile he was sending a few presents together with a list through Mīranji so that the letter should not be delivered without ceremony.[237]

Sec. 37 ʿĀbdūllah Qutb Shah's letter to his aunt in Iran

The frightened Ābdūllah Qutb Shah did not feel satisfied by inviting the attention of Shah Ābbas II to his pitiable situation. He was so fear stricken as to comprehend a greater catastrophe which might compel him to flee away from Golconda. He therefore immediately addressed his aunt Shahr Banū who was in Iran (see Sec. 32) to request Shah Ābbas II for necessary arrangements he had to flee.

ʿĀbdūllah Qutb Shah addressed his aunt with high respect and much ceremony apparently for the reason that the letter might be shown to Shah Ābbas II. Similarly the name of Shah Ābbas II too had been mentioned with about a score of ceremonious titles. He again stressed the devotional attachment of the Qutb Shahi family to the Caliphal descendants of the house of Shah Ṣafi, who were the ultimate saviours of Qutb Shahs.

He informed that Shah Jahān Padshah at the instigation of the most unfaithful Mir Mūḥammad Sa'id, had thrown all his covenants and pacts into oblivion and had developed enmity with him. As it should have been heard by that respectable lady that the year before he had sent his son Mūḥammad Āurangzeb with a huge army which plundered the city of Hyderabad quite unsparingly.[238] That year (1067/1657) too he sent 30 to 40 thousand horsemen under

Sultan Aurangzeb and Mir Muhammad Sa'id while, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah expected help from nowhere. If however Abdullah Qutb Shah could not withstand the situation he would like to seek a refuge at the Safavi court and therefore she should supplicate Shah Abbas II to issue a Firman, as it was done during the times of late Shah Safi addressed to the Dutch (Valandah) and the English (Angriz) captains with binding instructions, and the same might be sent to Abdullah Qutb Shah through some reliable person so that whenever he intended to proceed to Iran all necessary arrangements should be ready for his safe voyage.[239]

The two letters were despatched between 14th Rabi II 1067/20th January, 1657 and early Jumada I 1067/February, 1657 might have been sent together with Miranji.[240] 'Abdullah Qutb Shah's mentioning the name of Shah Jahan as Sultan Khurram in a letter addressed to Shah Abbas II whose father Shah Safi was called 'son' (farzand) by Shah Jahan, was quite peculiar. It speaks the immense hatred of 'Abdullah for the Mughals and his extreme frustration which led him to venture upon a decisive action. On the one hand he provoked Shah 'Abbas II by stimulating his religious sentiments to crush the Mughals and also offered to meet the cost of war at Qandahar, whereas on the other he wanted arrangements for his fleeing to Iran.

ʿĀbdullah appear to be quite ill informed. His statement that Āurangzeb and Mīr Jumla were advancing towards Golconda earlier in the year 1067/1656 was either a product of his apprehension or a device to provoke Shah Abbas II. Secondly his desire to send army on the borders of Qandahar does not appear to be sensible as Qandahar had already been taken by Iran in 1059/1648 (see Sec. 34). His complaint of Shah Jahān's assignment of the provinces of Karnatak to Mir Muhammad Sa'id was also immaterial since he had already executed a Deed of Endowment (waqf Namah), in favour of Mīr Muhammad Sa'id while he was in his service according to which the parts of Karnatak were assigned to Mīr Jumla in the name of the Holy Īmāms. Thereby Muhammad Sa'id and his descendants were declared perpetually incharge (mutawalli) of those parts. An endowment (Waqf) is irrevocable in Islam.

It is further surprising that Abdullah could not regain his courage when Shah Jahān was a loser in his campaigns of both Qandahar and Turan and his sons had started an ugly contest for succession.

Sec. 38 Letter of Shah ʿĀbbas II to ʿĀbdūllah Qutb Shah

Shah Ābbas II who was gifted with a quick perception and a capacity to take sharp decisions, clearly visualised the changing situation in Golconda as well as

in Hindustan. Late in 1067/1657 or early the next year he communicated a reply to ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah. The essence of it is briefly cited here.

After the ceremonial part of the letter, Shah ʿAbbas II acknowledged the receipt of a letter from ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah. He then wrote that the genuine friendship is tried and tested when one of the friends is in distress and in need of help. He assured that his cooperation with Golconda would exceed the help and cooperation extended by his forefathers with further assurance of ever increasing love and affection.

He advised ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah to learn to stand his own ground and to stand united with friends. He prompted ʿAbdūllah to exploit the situation created by the Mughal war of succession.

The bearer of the Qutb Shahi letter had passed away in Iran therefore Shah Abbas II sent the reply through someone else (falan) and desired that he should be relieved early.[241]

Shah ʿAbbas II did not make any mention of Mīr Jumla who was on good terms with the Ṣafavi family. There is no evidence if he had sent any military aid to Golconda or took any special action on the borders of Qandahar. He

was of course taking keen interest in aggravating the situation created by the contest of Shah Jahān's aspiring successors. He helped Murad by sending military aid and Dārā Shikoh by diplomatic encouragement.[242]

Sec. 39 Relations in the perspective of Mughal war of succession

On 7th Zilhijja 1067/6th September, 1657 Shah Jahān fell ill. Though his illness continued for a short period and he was able to proceed to Akbarabad in about a month by 20th Muharram 1068/18th October, 1657 it led to several rumours prompting his sons to start their struggle for succession. Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son and present in Delhi. He did not fail to suppress news of the court and to become the master of situation. Āurangzeb, who was busy in his Deccan expedition, left it to his son Mūhammad Mu'azzam and proceeded to Akbarabad apparently to see his ailing father but actually to establish his claims to the imperial throne. A large part of the Mughal army was by that time under the control of Āurangzeb for his campaigns in the Deccan.[243] He did not fail to make best use of those forces which led to his success in the contest of his succession but loosened his grip of the Deccan. It provided a renewed lease of life to Bijapur and Golconda.

Before the war of succession was concluded and

Āurangzeb proceeded to Akbarabad Dārā Shikoh had addressed Ābdullah Qutb Shah on 2nd Jumada II 1067/8th March, 1657 assuring him on behalf of Shah Jahān that the imperial Government had no intention to annex Golconda.[244] Dara's letter should have been a source of consolation to Ābdullah Qutb Shah.

On 6th Shaban 1068/29th April, 1658 prince Muḥammad Sultan wrote a detailed letter to Ābdullah Qutb Shah informing him about his success in defeating the imperial army sent by Dārā Shikoh under Jaswanth Singh.[245] Again on 4th Safar 1069/22nd October, 1658 prince Sultan Muḥammad informed Ābdullah Qutb Shah about the defeat of Dārā Shikoh[246] by Āurangzeb and the former's flee to Thattah. He also informed that Āurangzeb's forces were pursuing him even there. Such reports were providing a breathing space to Golconda at least for some time and yet assuring Āurangzeb's rise as the emperor of India. Golconda had therefore to reorientate its relational policies accordingly. Āurangzeb could defeat his brothers and declared himself successor to the imperial throne of India on 1st Ẓilqada 1068/1669/21st July 1658. The enhanced responsibilities of an imperial Government further disengaged his mind with the hitherto preoccupation of the Deccan campaigns. Throughout the reign of Ābdullah Qutb Shah he had very few occasions to indulge into Golconda affairs and Golconda had

been submitting its peshkash in cash and kind with frequent intervals.[247] From a letter of Āurangzeb addressed to Ābdūllah Qutb Shah on 24th Zilqada 1074/8th June, 1664 informing him about the appointment of prince Muḥammad Mu azzam (Shah Ālam Bahādur Shah), it becomes evident that Āurangzeb was quite happy with Ābdūllah Qutb Shah and desired him to be regular in sending the peshkash as estimated from year to year. He assured Ābdūllah Qutb Shah all his favours.[248] The Golconda-Mughal relations fared smoothly till 1075/1665 when Raja Jai Singh (Mirza Raja) concluded peace with Shīvaji who handed over the keys of twenty four forts to the Mughal chiefs, under the famous treaty of Purandar. The Maratha-Mughal alliance left Bijapur and Golconda feel more unsecure. Moreover the treaty stopped the spirited Shīvaji from his advancement in the north. He therefore diverted to lead his campaigns against Bijapur and Golconda. That naturally led to the alliance of the two Sultanates to defend themselves against Marathas. In Rajab 1076/January 1666 Ābdūllah Qutb Shah sent an auxiliary force of six thousand horsemen and twenty five thousand footmen led by Nīknam Khan (Riza Quli Khan) who joined the Bijapur army led by Sharza Khan and fought against the allied Maratha-Mughal forces at Bijapur. Peace was however concluded, after much killing and a disastrous seige of five months, in Ẓilqada 1076 to the loss of both the parties.[249] Shortly afterwards the alliance

between Shivaji and the Mughals was dissolved and the Maratha-Mughal relations entered into a renewed conflict. In the year 1079 Shivaji made a secret visit to Golconda and secured enormous military aid[250] from ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah. Still the Mughals appeared to be strongly reacting more against Shivaji than against Golconda. ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah appears to have led rest of his career somewhat undisturbed by the Mughals. He seems to have entered neither into any political contact nor in correspondence with Shah ʿAbbas II or his successor Shah Salaiman Safavi.

Sec. 40 Iranian Envoy Muhammad Muqim in Golconda

The letter of Shah Abbas II discussed in Section 39 had been communicated secretly, the name of its bearer was concealed and the references to the Mughals were made enigmatically. Shah ʿAbbas, who was closely observing the developments in Hindustan, was believing that the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan would not allow them to hold Golconda any more under their oppression. As a matter of fact Aurangzeb, who was investing various strongholds of Bijapur in 1067/1658 immediately diverted to the contest of succession in which he had to struggle with his three brothers. Shah Abbas II could then find a chance to openly send an envoy to Golconda with a letter against the Mughals in specific terms. This letter was sent by Mirza

Muhammad Muqim Kitabdar of Khassa Sharifa[251] of Shah Abbas II. The dates of the letter or Elchi's departure from Iran or of his arrival at Golconda are nowhere recorded. Nevertheless he was seen in Golconda on 2nd Muharram 1072.[252] But he was expected to have reached there earlier in 1068 or 1069/1659 or 1660.[253] Mirza Muhammad Muqim Kitabdar had to lead his mission and carry Shah Abbas II's letters both to Golconda and Bijapur.[254]

Shah Abbas II's letter to Abdullah Qutb Shah is almost on the same lines as his earlier letter (Sec. 38) but in its openness, the element of confidence and the details of narration, it suggests that it was written a little after his earlier letter when the war of succession was at its climax and Shah Abbas II was expecting the fall of the Mughal power.

The letter began with glorified ceremonial phrases in which Abdullah Qutb Shah had been addressed as, inter alia, a descendant of great Sultans, a symbol of unity gracing the throne in the best of his times and soon and so forth. Shah Abbas thereafter acknowledged the receipt of Abdullah Qutb Shah's letter speaking of love and unity which made him much happy. He repeatedly admired the contents of the letter carried to the effect of friendship.

Shah Abbas II commented that the breach of

covenants and a conduct short of integrity shown by the ruler of Hindustan and his sons was comprehended by him with full implications.

The Shah then tendered his complements saying that at a time when that clique of promise-breakers had risen to dominate, oppress and plunder so shamelessly, it was right on the part of Ābdūllah Qutb Shah to inform Shah Ābbas in view of their old established relations. It was also just to seek his help against the deserters and those antagonistic to Shi'ites so that they should be rendered thoroughly disabled.

Shah 'Ābbas II consoled 'Ābdūllah Qutb Shah telling that the situation in Golconda had not been lost hold of and still there was time to avenge. He assured that all that was required as help was ready and advised him to be confident of a great victory in near future.

Regarding Hindustan he observed that the superstructure of the Mughal Empire was to come down definitely due to the reason it had been standing on different pillars each of which had been shaken by the war of succession. The fall of the Mughal power was therefore in the offing. He advised Ābdūllah Qutb Shah to stand united with 'Adil Shah as their ancestors did andthe same was demanded by the religious sentiments and political consciousness.

In the end he recorded his credentials in favour of his Elchi Mirza Muhammad Muqim Kitabdar who would carry the sincere oral message to Abdullah Qutb Shah in person and would also inform him about the state of affairs, in Iran. Shah Abbas II further desired an early dismissal of his Elchi with all open and secret messages.[255]

Shah Abbas II's observation was based on upto date information but it lacked balance in respect of both Hindustan and Golconda. His effort to quicken the sinking Sultanates of Golconda and Bijapur to rise jointly against the Mughals was unrealistic. Moreover there is no evidence of his extending any substantial help to those sultanates. Similarly his prognostication of the downfall of the Mughal Empire based on the contest of war of succession had also been stultified by the rise of Aurangzeb through strong and drastic measures.

Aurangzeb was much busy in stabilising his governance in other parts of the empire and could not pay much personal attention to the Deccan Sultanates. However he was never negligent of the state of affairs in Golconda. The Mughal intelligencers or even News Reporters (Waqiah navis) were present in parts of Golconda and Bijapur. The Mughal News Reporters of Hyderabad were well treated by Abdullah and their services were availed of by the Sultan and his

Amirs. They had been conveying information regarding day to day activities of the Iranian Elchi Haji Mirza Muhammad Muqim Kitabdar to the Imperial Court.[256]

No specific information on the official reception of Mirza Muhammad Muqim in Golconda is traceable. Nevertheless he stayed there for a considerable time. Abdullah Qutb Shah had been sending him gifts like fruits and Cap-a'-pie (Sarapa) et cetera according to the occasion.[257] During his stay in Golconda Muhammad Muqim had been keeping contacts with Budaq Sultan the Iranian Elchi at Aurangzeb's court. On 11th Muharram 1072/27th August 1661 he requested the Mughal News Reporter to make necessary arrangements to escort two persons of his suite named Murtuza Quli and Ilah Quli to Budaq Sultan who had reached Delhi on 3rd Shawwal 1071/22nd May, 1661.[258] As Aurangzeb had been feeling happy on his Government being recognised by Iran, while Shah Jahan was still alive, he had not been raising any objection on the traffic of envoys between Iran and the Deccan Sultanates. Many minor Elchis from Iran had been coming over to Golconda and joining Muhammad Muqim. On 23rd Safar 1072/8th October 1661 a person from Iran arrived at Golconda from Masulipatam and joined the retinue of Muhammad Muqim. He had brought Iranian fruits. The Iranian Elchi sent 25 barrels (Tablah) of Iranian fruits to Abdullah Qutb Shah. The man of Elchi's suite who carried the barrels full of fruits to the Sultan

was favoured with Cap-a'-pie. Sultan ʿAbdullah then sent for Muhammad Muqim through Ibrahim Beg, Sar Naubat and showed the Elchi his palace (haveli) of Hyderabad. He also treated the Elchi with betel (pan). On the same occasion he conferred Cap-a'-pie on two persons of the retinue of Muhammad Muqim, who had recently arrived from Iran.[259]

Shah ʿAbbas II had been sending gifts, to ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah, through Haji Muhammad Muqim, which were carried by different parties from Iran to Golconda either through Masulipatam or Surat. On 6th Shaban 1073/7th March 1663 a person was reported to have entered the city of Aurangabad. He was a man of Muhammad Muqim and had brought six Iraqi horses through the port of Surat. The same person proceeded with his horses to Golconda on 22nd Shaban 1073/23rd March 1663.[260]

Mirza Muhammad Muqim was expected to have been communicating Golconda news to Iran but from a letter of Shah Abbas it appears that the Elchi was somewhat negligent in the performance of his duties.[261] Probably in the year 1076/1665 Shah Abbas II, while he had been to Mazandaran for hunting, addressed Muhammad Muqim who was in Golconda. The Shah addressed him with kind regards and informed him about his happy engagements at Mazandaran. He then mildly complained that an experienced servant like Muhammad Muqim

had not communicated a letter reporting the state of affairs at that end and about the health of that monarch.[262] He then enjoined Muhammad Muqim either immediately to return to Iran after duly obtaining permission from Abdullah Qutb Shah (names suppressed) or to send a detailed report about his (Abdullah's) health and the state of affairs in Golconda with which Shah Abbas II was much concerned.

In the end Shah Abbas II wrote to his Elchi for bringing two nice female elephants with two mahouts with himself as and when he would return.[263]

The date of Muhammad Muqim's return from Golconda could not be traced but by the year 1076/1667 Shah Abbas II showed an unhappy attitude towards Aurangzeb and he died in Rabi I 1077/1668 in Mazandaran.[264] He was succeeded by his son Shah Sulaiman a person of little capacity. Abdullah Qutb Shah, failing in his health and dejected in the circumstances, could have hardly relieved the Elchi happily. Abdullah was rendered further forlorn on the death of his mother Hayat Bakshi Begum on 28th Shaban 1077/3rd February 1667. He died on 3rd Muharram 1083/21st April, 1672. With his death, the political relations of Golconda with Iran came to an end though his successor Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah also made a feeble effort to re-establish his relations with Iran invoking the vicious circle of trilateral relations.

DIPLOMATIC HOAX - THE LAST PHASE

Sec. 41 Ābūl Ḥasan and Āurangzeb

Ābūl Ḥasan Qutb Shah ascended the Qutb Shahi throne soon after the death of Ābdūllah Qutb Shah in Muharram 1083/April 1672. He was the third son-in-law of Ābdullah. His accession had the strong support of Sayyid Muẓaffar Mīr Jumla. The news of his accession was carried to Āurangzeb together with his peshkash and a petition supplicating ratification of his succession and recognition of his Government.[265] Aurangzeb who was proceeding to Ḥasan Abdal (in Kabul) on his expedition to punish Afghans, responded the petition by issuing a Firman which contended that

(i) According to early treaties concluded with ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah the entire territory of Golconda after his death would be annexed to the Mughal empire.

(ii) Nevertheless in view of the loyalty and faithfulness of Ābūl Ḥasan, the entire dominions of ʿAbdūllah Qutb Shah were being assigned to him on account of the natural kindness of the Emperor.

(iii) The assignment was subject to Ābūl Ḥasan's adhering to the laws of allegiance and loyalty.

(iv) He should avoid alliance with Shivaji and should not extend any sort of help to him.

(v) He should remit a peshkash amounting to forty lakh rupees every year to the imperial treasury.

(vi) He should seek the excessive royal favours with his loyal services and suitable gifts.

(vii) He should record a covenant to the effect of the above detailed conditions and to swear on the Quran in the presence of Abdu'rrahman (son of Islam Khan) the bearer of the Firman and Khwaja Osman the Mughal envoy then present in Golconda.[266]

The Firman was sent to Golconda by Abdu'rrahman together with imperial forces on 6th Shawwal 1084/4th January, 1674.[267] It appears that under the new circumstances prevailing in Golconda the execution of a covenant as instructed by the Firman was somewhat delayed. In the meanwhile Abdu'rrahman was appointed as the Bakshi of the Deccan, consequent on the death of Fath Khan.[268] On 9th Safar 1086/25th April, 1675 the Covenant was executed by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah observing all the instructions contained in Firman.[269]

The terms of the covenant were observed hardly for two years after which Abul Hasan revised his policy

towards the Mughals under the guidance of Shivàjī. The veteran Maratha statesman reached Hyderabad and had a conference with Ābūl Ḥasan Qutb Shah on some common problems in Safar 1088/March, 1677. The conference was attended by Mādannā Pandit as well who was the Peshkar (Accountant) of the kingdom. Shivājī succeeded in his mission of drawing Golconda in alliance with him to defend the Mughals and also in collecting a 'huge amount and a strong force of soldiers' from Golconda.[270] The transaction did not go unnoticed of the watchful Mughals. Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash received the news when he was in Pathri. He immediately moved to Hyderabad via Kandhar and exacted 'heavy fines' from Ābūl Ḥasan.[271] A little after his return from Hyderabad Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash received a letter from Shaikh Minhāj who had been appointed by Ābdu'r Rahmān for the assessment of the revenue of Gulbarga,[272] stating that that was an opportune time for the capture of the fort, and advised to send an army upto Aland from where to be further guided by him.[273] Before Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash could take action, Diler Khan and ʿĀbdūl Karīm (Buhlūl Khan) sent a petition to Āurangzeb that Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash had secret alliance with Ābūl Ḥasan, Sikandar ʿĀdil Shah and Shivājī. They stressed their excessive loyalty assuring that Hyderabad could be annexed to the Mughal empire if a reasonable force could be given for their help. Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash was

summoned by Āurangzeb in Jumada 11 1088/August 1677 and Diler Khan joined with Ābdūl Karīm led the Mughal army to Malkhed on the border of Golconda.[274] Mūhammad Ībrāhīm Khalīlullah Khan Sipah Salar (Sar Khayl) of Golconda defended and made them retreat. They entered into a peace treaty.[275]

Ābūl Hasan issued a Deed of Victory (Fath Namah), praising the good services of Khalīlullah Khan, which should have been circulated to all the important outposts of his kingdom as evident from the text of the Deed.[276]

In the year 1089/1678 Āurangzeb returned from his long stay at Kabul and reached Ajmer. The same year prince Mūhammad Mu'azzam was enjoined to go over to Ujjain from the Deccan and sent Bahādūr Khan Kukaltash again as the Subahdar of the Deccan.

In the meanwhile prince Mūhammad Ākbar, the youngest son of Āurangzeb revolted at the instigation of the Rathors.[277] Though he found a respite under the protection of Sambhājī, he was being chased by Khan Bahādūr Kukaltash and prince Mūhammad Mu'azzam. He had been therefore roaming in different parts of the Deccan till ultimately he fled to Iran.[278] During his chase prince Mūhammad Mu'azzam wrote a letter to Ābūl Hasan to arrest prince Ākbar if he happened to enter his territories.

Abul Hasan dutifully replied to the letter assuring that he would do his utmost to arrest the rebel prince, if he would enter the boundaries of Golconda.[279]

In Ramazan, 1092/September, 1681 Aurangzeb left Ajmer for the Deccan with a view to set right the state of affairs there. He reached Aurangabad in Zilqada, 1093/November, 1682. The matters which were immediately reported to him early in the year 1094/1683 about Golconda included the rise of Akkanna and Madanna as well as the imprisonment of Sayyid Muzaffar by them. Mir Hashim son of Sayyid Muzaffar was in the imperial service. He made a detailed representation against the unwholesome activities of the two brothers (Akkanna and Madanna) who had got his father demoted from the position of Mir Jumla and Vakil u'ssaltanat and then imprisoned him. He requested the Emperor to take necessary action for his release.[280] At the same time it was reported that Ramgir and other Sarkars which were annexed to the Mughal Subah of Zafarnagar had been taken back by Abul Hasan. Aurangzeb deputed Bahadur Khan Kukaltash to restore the territories taken by Abul Hasan unauthoritatively.[281]

The same year Mirza Muhammad the Mushrif of Ghusl Khanah was sent to Abul Hasan to collect certain jewels and enter into a dialogue regarding general affairs.

In course of discussion with him Abul Hasan desired to be called the Padshah of Golconda.[282]

Soon after the return of Mirza Muhammad the Mushrif, Mughal forces led by prince Muhammad Mu'azzam and Bahadur Khan Kukaltash reached the frontiers of Golconda adjoining the borders of Bijapur where they were faced with a large army of Golconda led under the supreme command of Muhammad Ibrahim Khalilullah. The terms of peace offered by prince Muhammad Mu'azzam were rejected by Golconda and a war took place.[283] The army of Golconda was defeated but was not chased on account of which Bahadur Khan Kukaltash and prince Mu'azzam were seriously warned by Aurangzeb for their negligence.[284]

Golconda forces again challenged early in the year 1095/1684 and were chased upto Hyderabad. The Group of Madanna in the Qutb Shahi court carried the defeat to an ill motive of Muhammad Ibrahim Khalilullah the Sipah Salar of Golconda. The difference increased to a point where Muhammad Ibrahim Khalilullah deserted Golconda and crossed over to the camp of Aurangzeb. This defection created a state of anarchy and the city of Hyderabad was plundered by the Mughal army.[285]

Abul Hasan shut himself in the fort of Golconda and submitted his apologies to Aurangzeb seeking mediation of prince Muhammad Mu'azzam and prince Mu'izu'ddin (son of

prince Mu'azzam).[286] Akkanna and Madanna were put to death by the men of Golconda and their heads were sent to Aurangzeb to subside his anger.[287] Sayyid Muzaffar was of course released earlier in 1094/1683.[288]

Abul Hasan lost many strong men of his retinue. Though he could secure a respite through the mediation of prince Mu'azzam and Bahadur Khan Kukaltash yet he could not have concluded peace with Mughals. Aurangzeb was set upon overthrowing the Sultanate of Golconda and Abul Hasan was conscious of the forthcoming catastrophe.[289] He made a last desparate effort to hold the situation by inviting the sympathies of Iran.

Sec. 42 Abul Hasan's letter to Shah Sulayman Safavi

Abul Hasan had some connections with Shah Sulayman Safavi which were of an indirect character. He was presumably keeping in touch with the members of Kirmani family who had shifted from Golconda to Isfahan during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah.[290] A few years before he had addressed Sahib Kauchak, the daughter of Ni'mat ullah, who was in Iran asking her to request Shah Sulayman Safavi on behalf of him for making necessary arrangements for a safe travel of the members of the household of Ibrahim Khalilullah the Sipah Salar of Golconda, from Isfahan to the ports of Iran.[291]

Ābul Hasan does not seem to have entered into any direct political correspondence with Shah Sulayman Safavi till 1095/1683. In that year he addressed Shah Sulayman Safavi through a detailed political letter which was communicated to him secretly.

The letter opened with more than one hundred beautiful phrases ceremonially addressing Shah Sulayman Safavi. Even in that part much stress was laid on the Shah's being the Chief Khalifa of Allah and a great promoter of Shi'ite faith. He then recorded his devotion with the usual argument that the Qutb Shahi house had been observing sincere devotional relations with that of the Safavis from the times of their ancestors. He added that there had never been any break in the relations of Qutb Shahs with the Safavis and that their constant attachment and devotion was known all over the world.

Ābul Hasan maintained that the Sultanate of Golconda had once been the camp of the enemies of Ālī (Khawarij)[292] and the Qutb Shahi Sultans introduced and popularised the Shi'ite faith throughout the Sultanate and got the names of the rulers of Safavi dynasty included in Khutbah. He held that it was by virtue of the same the Sultanate was always saved against mishaps. He reminded that whenever any encroachment of the enemies upon Golconda

Sultanate was learnt by the Ṣafavi rulers they never spared an action to repel it either by friendly negotiations or by the use of force.

Before actually reporting Golconda affairs to Shah Sulayman, Ābul Ḥasan offered his tactful apologies for his not entering into contact with the Iranian monarch earlier on the plea that he was afraid of the enemies. He complained that the excessive infiltration of the most unwanted Mughals had badly disturbed the peace and tranquility of the Shi'ite abode (Dar-ul-Mūminīn) namely Hyderabad city.[293]

Diverting to the main object he wrote that the ruler of India, finding Sikandar ʿAdil Shah a minor and the writer of the letter (Ābul Ḥasan) deprived of the Ṣafavi favours, had been staying in the Deccan with his enormous army and heavy artillery pretending to have come for the subjugation of the son of Siva (Sambhāji) and to chase his own son Ākbar.[294] But the innate truth was that he was designing to subdue the two vilayats of Golconda and Bijapur. One of the main reasons of the Mughal oppression was the ancestral devotion of those two Deccan Sultans to the Ṣafavi house. Inspite of a covenant (ʿĀḥadnāmah) arrived at between them the Mughals had always been encroaching upon Bijapur and Golconda. Ābul Ḥasan makes a reference that about six years before they had sent an

army led by Diler Khan Sipah Salar and Buhlul Khan Afghan Bijapuri which had intended to plunder Hyderabad but it was successfully defended by Shi'ite leaders of Golconda army.

He added that under the plea of blockading the passage of Sambhaji, son of Sivāji, Āurangzeb was posting his army at various places throughout the territories of Bijapur. Liberty to this action he took under the semblance of friendship. He had been constantly asking military and financial help from Abul Hasan. Moreover he was enticing the amirs and vizirs of Golconda with offers of high ranks. That he deemed as a key-device to his success.[295]

Ābūl Ḥasan attempted to make Shah Sulayman believe that the Mughals wanted to overthrow Golconda and Bijapur for their upholding Shi'ism as their State religion and being faithful to Iran. He further argued that after the overthrow of the Deccan Sultanates Aurangzeb could design to conquer Iran. Ābūl Ḥasan asserted that like his predecessors he deemed himself a representative (Naib) of the Ṣafavis in Golconda. He therefore deemed it incumbent to make a report of those events so that suitable help should be extended by Iran for repelling the enemy.

Ābūl Ḥasan further added that it was an established tradition of the Ṣafavi rulers to help any ruler they found overwhelmed by enemy, regardless of the fact whether such a

ruler had been a friend. The stories of such help by Ṣafavis were recorded in the annals of world history. (This is obviously a reference to Ṭahmāsp's help to Hymayūn).

In the end Ābūl Ḥasan expressed his hopes that those who had been helping the enemies should never be negligent of friends otherwise after a couple of years the resounding of the holy phrase ' ʿAlīyun Wali ullah' would no more be heard in Golconda.[296]

The letter was sent with a person who was to convey some oral message as well to the harem of Shah Sulayman. In every likelihood that letter too should have been delivered through Ṣaḥib Kauchāk the daughter of Ni'matullah.

There is no evidence if Shah Sulayman Ṣafavi responded to the appeal of the sinking Sultan of Golconda. The Mughal oppression went on increasing until the Golconda Sultanate was overthrown and annexed to the Mughal empire and Ābūl Ḥasan was taken a prisoner on 24th Ẓilqada 1098/ 21st September, 1687.

References and Notes

1 For details see Z̈iau'ddīn Āḥmad S̄hakeb: 'The Black Sheep Tribe from Lake Van to Golconda' (Itihas Vol. II No.2).

2 The relations between these Sultanates themselves were extremely changeable. At one time they were seen in alliance while on the other occasion they were hostile to each other. Nevertheless Golconda, Bijapur and to some extent Niẓām Shahs maintained a uniform policy in respect of their relations with Iran. Henceforward all these kingdoms together shall be referred to as Deccan Sultanates. For the history of Bahmanis see the excellent work of Professor H.K. S̄herwānī: 'The Bahmanis of the Deccan'.

3 Regarding the Sassanian blood in the household of ʿĀlī and thus in the veins of the Ṣafavī rulers see Ābu Jaʿfar Mūḥammad Ibn Tarir al Ṭabarī (838-923): Āk̄hbār u'rrusul wal Muluk I 25, 45-51; Browne IV, 18. It may further be noted that Shah Īsmāʿil inherited from his mother's side the blood of Aq Quyunlus and Greeks vide Browne III, 407, IV, 47; Sarwar 23-25.

4 For the Arab element in the Iranian population see ch. I, Sec.10.

Linguistically the Persian language was so much Arabicised that it gave up its script to receive the Arabic script and at least sixty per cent of its syntax is loaded with Arabic diction. This may be seen by the analysis of a few sentences of Persian literature recorded during the sixteenth and the

preceding centuries.

Religiously Islam was so dominant that all other indigenous religions were either extinguished or reduced to a negligible size. For the nature of Islam in Ṣafavī Iran, see ch. IV and V.

5 This river is also known by its classical name Jaxartus.

6 Firishtah I, 598-599; H.S. III, iii 44-49.

7 To appreciate various issues respecting recognition of a new state an observation of F.L.Schuman may be cited here-

> A state may exist for a long period of time but it does not become a state in legal sense until it has been received into the family of nations as a recognised member. States are initiated into the society of states only by the process of diplomatic recognition extended to them by other states. Recognition to new states is entirely a matter of policy, it may be granted atonce or delayed. Recognition once granted is irrevocable. Either the despatch or the reception of a diplomat, constitutes recognition though the sending of a consular agent does not imply the recognition. The signature of an international agreement, a salute to the flag, or any other act of like intent authorised by responsible authorities likewise constitutes recognition (Schuman 102-103).

8 For details see ch. IV, Sec. II.

9 The lady's veil was a taunt against Shah Īsmā'il's maternal side (as his mother was a lady from Aq Quyunlu Tribe) if however he claimed a title to monarchy from that source. The bowl was a taunt against his paternal side as he had descended from the family of a dervish. Besides there was a sharp exchange of sarcastic verses, between Shaybānī Khan and Shah Īsmā'il. Shaybānī Khan argued monarchy to be a hereditary right which Shah Īsmā'il did not possess whereas Shah Īsmā'il advocated the theory of force which he claimed he possessed.

Rashidu'ddīn Fazlullah: Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (English translation) 232-233; H.S. III, IV, 54, 56; also see A.A.A. 27-29; Sykes II, 160.

10 H.S. III, IV, 76-80; A.A.A. 31, 32; Lane-Poole 155, 159; Sykes II, 162.

11 For details of relations of Shah Īsmā'il with Bābur see R.I. 5-18.

12 As specified earlier, states have been treated as persons in this discussion. The Heads of the States represented the embodiment of states during the period under study. Therefore names of States and the names of the Monarchs have been used interchangeably throughout this study.

13 H.S. III, iii 44-49; Z.N. II, 14-19; For Timūr's sovereign recognition of the Deccan see Firishtah I, 598-599 also see Sherwānī (B) 158, 159.

14 It may be noted that Bābur was a sovereign de jure of Farghana in 899/1494. B.N.I.

15 Sultan Qūlī's career commences in the personal retinue of Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani and was with the title of Khawas Khan. Before Sultan Qūlī could rise to the position of Tarafdār of Tilangana in 901/1495. B.N.I. For Sultan Qūlī see T.Q.S. f 19 (b); Burhan 155; Firishtah I, 719; Sherwānī (B) 377.

16 Recognition of Sultan Mūḥammad Shah Bahmani (1358-1375) by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al Mu'tadid (vide Firishtah I, 542; Sherwānī (B) 87 and Firoz Shah's recognition by Timūr (Firishtah I, 598-599) may be referred to as a few instances.

17 B.N. 482

18 Firishtah I, 729

19 Ibid

20 Iran's recognition of the Bahmani kingdom upto 921/1515 is established by the fact that the Elchi of Shah Īsmāʿil reached the court of Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani in 921. Further none of the Iranian had been sent to any of the Deccan Sultans before 925/1519. Moreover in the year 924/1518 the death of Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani provided new prospects for the Deccan Sultans to assume autonomy.

21 Burhan 162

22 Both Firishtah (Vol. II pp. 32, 33) and Ṭabāṭabā (p.162) state that Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani wanted to entertain the Iranian Elchi with all necessary protocol but his court politics dominated by Qāsim Barid prevented him from doing so. The discourteous

behaviour of Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani need not necessarily be construed to his anti Shi'ah attitude while the strongest of his nobles, except Barid ul Mulk and ʿImād ul Mulk, were Shi'ahs.

23 As early as in 908/1502 Yusuf ʿĀdil Shah invited a grand meeting of all the nobles and Tarafdārs of the Deccan wherein he made an official declaration of his adherence to Shi'ah faith and his decision to make it his State Religion. Sayyid Āḥmad Haravī, one of the Shi'ah nobles who attended the meeting, was later sent to the court of Shah Īsmāʿil as an Elchi of ʿĀdil Shah. Firishtah II, 17, 18 also see ch. IV.

24 It is possible that Sayyid Āḥmad had been to Iran much before 914/1508 probably in the year 910/1504 or so (vide Firishtah I, 19-22; Albuquerque p. 135).

25 According to Firishtah (Vol. II p. 33) Īsmāʿil ʿĀdil Shah, on the arrival of the Iranian Elchi, exclaimed 'Now the monarchy (Shāhī) has come to my house (Khāndān)'. He ordered his army to put on Red Taj with twelve scallops to give a reception to the Elchi.

26 Firishtah I, 724; Firishtah II, 329

27 According to Firishtah(II, 329, 330) Sultan Qulī introduced the names of the twelve Imāms in Khutbah in 918/1512 and dropped the names of the first three Caliphs gradually. Later when he heard of the accession of Shah Īsmāʿil Ṣafavī he entered his (Īsmāʿil's) name also in Khutbah before his name. Quṭb Shāhī sources are silent about this action. Nevertheless, the name of Shah Īsmāʿil could be entered in Khutbah

in Golconda after the assumption of autonomy by Sultan Qulī Quṭb Shah, which he did only after the death of Maḥmūd Shah Bahmani in 924/1518 (T.Q.S. f 25).

28 Firishtah II, 23; 32-33

29 Burhan p. 254 (see also ch.IV, Sec. 6).

30 For details see ch. IV, Sec.7 also see T.Q.S. f 113

31 Firishtah I, 729

32 A.A.A. 89

33 Hadiqah 80, 81

34 931 to 940/1524 to 1534

35 A.A.A. 35 to 37; Sykes II, 164

36 He invaded on six occasions: Firstly in the year 930/1524; secondly in 931/1525; twice in 935/1529; fifthly in 937/1530 and sixthly in 938/1531. By his third invasion he gave a set back to the Qizilbāsh and was himself defeated in 938/1531 in the sixth expedition. A.A.A. 37-49.

37 Those wars were fought in the years 940/1533; 941/1534; 955/1548 and 961/1553 (A.A.A. 49-59; Sykes II, 164-165).

38 The way in which Iskandar Munshī has narrated Shah Ṭahmāsp's entertaining Elchis of different countries, it appears that his early expeditious years did not permit him to entertain minor entities, for the discription of their embassies has been relegated to the end of the section regardless of the sequence of their arrival A.A.A. 87-89.

39 941/1534; 950/1544

40 A.A.A. 87-89

41 Iskander Munshī has mixed up Gujrat and Deccan. In his text (A.A.A. 87-89) he has mentioned Āhmedabad Patan instead of Āhmednagar. He has also mentioned the name of Hyderabad with Golconda but the city of Hyderabad was not founded by the time when these Elchis from the rulers of the Deccan reached Iran.

42 Ibid
There is no evidence if Sultan Qulī had received the Taj even earlier from Shah Īsmā'il. Further the Taj was definitely denotative of the Twelvers Faith but it is debatable whether it had any political significance (also see ch.IV, Sec. 3).

43 Firishtah I, 402

44 Firishtah II, 558

45 For Humāyūn's career before he fled to Iran, the excellent work of S.K. Banerji "Humāyūn Bādshāh"; for his journey and stay at Iran the memoirs of Jauhar Āftabchī: Tazkirat ul Waqi'at and for his later career with reference to his relation with Iran R.I. ch.III afford best readings. Also see A.A.A. 73-76.

46 For Sher Shah's career see Qanungo Sher Shah and Ni'matullah: Makhzan-i-Āfghanī.

47 M'Tawārikh pp. 369-370; R.I. 202-203.

48 The reigns of Jamshīd (950/1543 to 957/1550) and Subḥān Qulī (957/1550) were short and sick with domestic problems. These two Sultans might not have been able to enter into formal relationship with Iran.

49 Riaz ul Islam chs. III & IV

50 A.N. II, 237; also see Mir Ma'sum: Tārīkh-i-Sindh

51 R.I. (51-55) The truth is that Ākbar's real interest was vested in Balkh and Badakhshān and his ancestral land in Transoxiana which were held by 'Ābdullah Khan Uzbeg. Ākbar was therefore not happy with the rise of 'Ābdullah Khan Uzbeg though with him he maintained peaceful relations. He could foresee that the rising Uzbegs could dis-balance the Mughal power in the contemporary society of states.

52 (a) R.I. (93) informs about the letters of Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah and Mustafa Khan Ārdistānī to the Persian Court and he has given the description of these letters in his calendar at Nos: Dn 295, 296, 297 and Dn 298. These letters are not accessible at the time of this study.

(b) A modern Urdu scholar of Hyderabad, Ḥakim Syed Shamsullah Quādrī states that when Ībrāhim Quṭb Shah realised that Nizām Shah (of Āḥmadnagar) had developed his relations with the Ṣafavī monarchs, he too sent an embassy to Shah Ṭahmāsp and made Khurshāh (the former renowned Elchi of Nizām Shah then in Golconda) to accompany his Elchi. In 971/1561 Khurshāh returned to the Quṭb Shāhī court

accompanied by a return Elchi, named Quṭb Beg Qurjī. (Tārīkh, a quarterly journal of history and Archaeology Vol. I, part II, p. 118 for April to June 1929 published Hyderabad).

53 In Muharram 972/1565 Mirān Mubārak Shah submitted his allegiance and sent peshkash to Ākbar through the dignitories close to the Emperor. He also gave his daughter in marriage to Ākbar (A.N.II, 230)

54 In (Rajab) 981 consequent on the return of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mirzā and other Mirzas from Daulatabad to Gujarat Ākbar deputed Mir Muḥammad Muḥsin Razvī Mashhadī to the Deccan to communicate good advices and counsels of Ākbar to Nizām-ul-Mulk of Āḥmadnagar. This was but preaching the gospel of Ākbar's supreme sovereignty. Nizām-ul-Mulk received Muḥsin Mashhadī with respect but did not practically obliged his mission. Mir Muḥsin Mashhadī informed the Emperor that the Deccan was suffering from lawlessness and instability and suggested that it was the rightest moment for reducing the Deccan (A.N. III, 77-78).

In Isfandār 984/1577 Ākbar sent a force under the leadership of Shahābu'ddīn Āḥmad Khan with instructions that first mild diplomatic discourses should be tried to bring the Deccan rulers to their senses. If however unluckily they boldly reacted they should be undone but full care should be taken of the populace of the Deccan (A.N. III, 197).

55 A.N. III, 221

56 The Portuguese had strongly occupied the ports on the coastal south especially of Goa from the 16th century. During the reign of Ākbar they had been interfering in the Mughal seafaring and killing the Muslim pilgrims. They were also involved in the political relations of the Mughals, Ṣafavī Iran, Ottoman Empire and Egypt. Ākbar, in his earlier efforts, could not succeed in reducing them. For the part played by the Deccan Sultans, particularly by ʿĀdil Shahs, under the instructions of Ākbar, see Danvers I, ch. XX; II, ch. I to V. For the Ṣafavī interference see R.I. 50, 53. For Mughal and Sunni action regarding Portuguese see A.N. III, 280, 486, 491, 496; ʿAbdullah Nāmah f 463.

57 Ibid

58 A.N. III, 297

59 Ibid

60 A marzbān means a landlord; a general of the confines; Governor on the borders of a hostile country; a landed proprietor. This is a general term of reference, for the Deccan Sultans, used by Ābul Fażl who was no less than an official Historian. The other term Ḥakim, means a governor who is generally appointed by a supreme sovereign authority and does not have an independent status.

61 In 981/1573 Mir Muḥsin Rażvī Mashhadī (A.N. III, 77-78); in 984/1576 Shahābuddīn Āḥmad Khan (Ibid p. 197); in 993/1584 Khan-i-Aʿẓam (Ibid p. 464-65); in 994/1585 Mir Ābu Turāb (Ibid pp. 489-90); in 999/1590 Shahzādah Sultan Murād

(Ibid p. 598); the same year Ābul Fayż Fayżī (Ibid pp. 596-7) were deputed as Ākbar's apostles (wakhshurs) to preach the gospel of the Mughal supremacy. Ābul Fayż Fayżī stayed in the Deccan for about 20 months and 14 days and returned in Farwardī 1001/1592.

62 The plot, engineered by Īqwām Sultanam, mother of Shah ʿAbbās I, for the enthronisation of her son, was also joined by Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish who shortly afterwards defected them and fled away by 995 or 996 (A.A.A. 269, 270). Presumably, after his defection he went over to Golconda where he was employed as a military chief. He commanded the Quṭb Shāhī forces on the battle field of Āḥmadnagar against the Mughal forces led by prince Murād, in the year 1004/1595.

63 In the year 1002/1593 Rājā Mānsingh was deputed to the Deccan. Sultan Murād who was already there was ordered to be ready to lead a campaign. (A.N. III, 647-8); on 5th Isfandyār 1004/1595 further Mughal forces moved towards Āḥmadnagar (Ibid p. 696); on 1005/1596 the allied Deccan forces invited by Chānd Bībī were defeated by prince Murād (Ibid p. 717).

64 A.N. III, 420

65 Ibid 598

66 Ibid 639

67 Ibid 647-8

68 Ibid 698-700; 718-719; Burhān 605-614; Firishtah II, 174-9.

69 Ṭabāṭabā (Burhān 625) has provided a detailed supplement on the terms of this dictated peace concluded with Chānd Bibī.

70 A.N. III, 780

71 Ibid 782

72 Ibid 838

73 A.A.A. 270-274; Sykes II, 173-4; Browne IV, 104. It may be noted that the Turkish Campaigns in Iran were led by the Turkish General Farhād Pāshā.

The Uzbeg Chief ʿAbdul Mumin Khan laid seige of Mashhad during the third regnal year of Shah ʿAbbās I (A.A.A. 274-277).

74 R.I. (57-61) has given an account of Ākbar's recovery of Qandahār with graphic details.

75 (a) Shah ʿAbbas I sent at least two major embassies to the Mughal court. One led by Yādgār Sultan Rumulu in 999/1590 and the other by Minuchihr Beg in the year 1007/1598 who were nicely entertained by Ākbar and relieved with the return Elchis Mirzā Ẓiyau'ddīn and Mir Ma'sum respectively. The latter was relieved by Shah ʿAbbās in 1013/1604 without much 'ceremony'. For details see R.I. 55-67.

(b) By the time Yādgār Sultan Rumulu was sent to the Mughal court, Shah ʿAbbās I sent Āsadullah

76 A.A.A. 379-380

77 Āsadullah Beg Tabrizi Kark Yaraq has been mentioned by Īskandar Munshī to have performed the duties of an Ambassador in the Sultanates of the Deccan. The letters which he carried from Shah ʿAbbās I to the Deccan Sultans particularly the one addressed to Qutb Shah does not seem to be extant. There is no evidence if he was accompanied with any return Elchi from Golconda (A.A.A. 362 also see F.N. 75(b).

78 For the life and role of Mir Muḥammad Mumin see ch. IV, Sec. 6

79 Majlis was a classical institution of the Iranian Government. It was a sort of king's Privy Council. Majlises were there in all the Governments concerning this study. A Majlis naturally assumed a stronger position when the monarch was minor. The Qutb Shahi Majlis seems to have become stronger and selective during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah in consultation with Mir Muḥammad Mumin. Mir Muḥammad Mumin invited best of the intellectuals from Iran like Shaikh Ibn Khatun, Muḥammad Amin and others and coached the excellent elite within the frame of Quṭb Shāhī Majlis.

80 A.N. III, 719

81 Ibid, 717-8; 782

82 Qāzī Mustafa should have been some eminent noble capable of carrying out a diplomatic mission. But this name is not traceable in the contemporary records of Golconda.

83 Makātib (Z) ff. 409 a - 411 a. The letter is an excellent piece of literary art. It opens with prayers for the long life of the addressee and a score of beautiful phrases for ceremonious addresses subsequent to which a few couplets of panegyric have been cited. Muḥammad Qulī again addressed Shah ʿAbbās with a score of florid phrases of ceremonial address. No doubt these phrases are not a mere verbose style of writing as they are meaningful in the context of relations in the contemporary politics. Muḥammad Qulī, at the climax of his expression concludes his admiration of Shah ʿAbbās I by citing an Arabic couplet

'Laqad tamm-ul-Kalām bimā āqul
Īẓā mā qultu jadda kum ul Rasul'

(There ends the talk when I say that your grand father was a prophet).

At the end of the letter there are again a few couplets admiring Shah ʿAbbās I in a laudatory tone and seeking his mercy. The letter is closed on prayers for the perpetual existence of the Ṣafavī kingdom and prayers to the prophet and his household.

Regarding 'Elchis and visitors' mentioned by Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah, it may be recalled that a few years ago Àsadullah Beg Tabrizi Kark Yaraq had been to the Deccan. Further the traffic of other visitors like poets, ulemahs was always there.

84 The risk of censor expressed by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah indicates that his envoy proceeded to Iran through the Trunk route and had therefore to pass through the Mughal empire quite a long way.

85 See Sec. 14 above and n. 63

86 Makātib (Z) f 411 a.

87 The name of this Elchi has been variably spelt by different scribes of Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. The codex before us (No. 23 S.A.A.P.) reads as Ughuryu. Some other readings are Ughuzlu, Ughurlu etc. In the letter of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah addressed to Shah ʿAbbās I Makātib (Z) ff 408 b - 409 a this name reads as Ughurlu. This is similar in a Codex of T.Q.S. preserved in the Salār Jung Museum (f 279 (a) Tārīkh - Farsī No.85).

In view of the general Turkman name pattern and prevalent readings we have pronounced and spelt it as Uighurlu. His full name in the light of above sources is Uighurlu Beg Sultan. From the titles with which Uighurlu Beg Sultan has been addressed by Sultan Muḥammad Qulī, it appears that he held a fairly high rank of Yuzbāshī in the private Estate (Khassa-i-Sharīfah) of Shah ʿAbbās I; Briggs: Vol III (appendix to the history of Golconda p. 475) reads this name as Oghzloo, which is not acceptable.

88 T.Q.S. f 127

89 It was a bejewelled Taj. The other items of gifts presented by Uighurlu Sultan on behalf of Shah ʿAbbās I were - a bejewelled dagger with belt; 500 full pieces of velvet, Firangi Satin, Brocade and other fabrics of variable textures and colours of superior quality; twelve pairs of carpets (Qalin); Garments of Brocade and forty Iraqi horses with bejewelled saddles and rein with several other items (T.Q.S. f 127 (b).

90 Ibid

91 It is strange that T.Q.S. does not record the text of this letter.

92 Firishtah II, 342; Dr. Zor's contention (59) that the statement of Firishtah saying that Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah was preparing to send his daughter to Iran is on account of the fact that Firishtah had closed his statement before the marriage of Hayāt Bakhshī Begum and naturally before the departure of the Iranin Elchi from Golconda is correct. R.I. (93) statement of Shah ʿAbbās I's arrangement for a matrimonial alliance with the Quṭb Shāhī family is a bit ambitious (p. 93).

93 T.Q.S. f 130

94 Ibid

95 (a) Ibid f 131 (a); the account contained in T.Q.S. that the revolt of Prince Khudabandah was engineered by Shah Rāju a descendant of Sayyid Muḥammad Gesu Darāz, is untenable for the reason that

he was born in 1002/1593 in Bijapur (see his work Zad-al-Mawahhidin (f 2(a) preserved in the Īdarai Ādabiyāt-i-Urdu Hyderabad MS 272 and he migrated to Hyderabad during the reign of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah (Bilgrami 74-75). The contents of T.Q.S. respecting Shah Rāju appear to be a later interpolation.

(b) It is strange that in the entire event, the name of Mir Muḥammad Mumin has been scrupulously avoided. It is a fact that as late as in the year 1016/1607 consequent on the event of the marriage of Hayāt Bakʿshī Begum with Prince Sultan Muḥammad (Quṭb Shāh) it was decided to declare the bridegroom as the heir apparent to the Golconda throne. This necessitated to undo the old aspirant to the throne. It was not unlikely if the entire game was plotted to remove Khudabandah from the way of Sultan Muḥammad (Qutb Shah). also see Sherwānī Q 293.

96 T.Q.S. f 131, stating 'hazār shām -i-ara'

97 Makātib (Z) f the letter of ʿĀdil Shah sent by Mir Khalil Khushnawis along with the team of the Deccan Elchis in 1018/1609 clearly states that they had been abstaining from sending congratulatory-cum-condolatory Elchis to Jahāngir till they received instructions to that effect from Iran.

98 Jahāngir was born in 978/1570; Muhammad Qulī in 974/1566 and Shah ʿAbbās I in 978/1570.

99 For an excellent account of Jahāngir's relations with Shah ʿAbbās I see R.I. ch.V.

100 Ibid 65, 68

101 Tuzuk 94-96; I.N. 34-37; A.A.A. 552; R.I. 70

102 ʿĀdil Shah's letter Makātib (Z) f invites Shah ʿAbbās to launch an attack on Qandahār in specific terms to harass Jahāngir both at Qandahār and the Deccan.

103 Tuzuk 75, 76; I.N. 26

104 Tuzuk 78, 79; I.N. 31

On 6th Zilqada 1018/21st January, 1610 before prince Parviz could reach Burhānpur a petition (ʿarzdāsht) was received from Khan-i-Khanan and other Amirs, reporting that the Deccanis had joined into an alliance and were ready to mutineer. Therefore in spite of sending military with Parviz the situation demanded some more force. Instantly Jahāngir thought to proceed himself but Āsaf Khan advised him that his presence at the capital was required more essentially. By the same time an ʿarzdāsht was received from ʿĀdil Khan Bijāpurī (ʿĀdil Shah) saying that if a reliable person was sent to the Deccan he would explain to him his contention and claims so that he should convey them to Jahāngir, which would be for the betterment of the rulers of the Deccan. Jahāngir therefore called for a meeting of Amirs where Khan Jahān's son proposed that when so many reliable Amirs were available for the conquest

of the Deccan there was no need for Jahāngir to proceed personally. He requested permission for him to reinforce the Lashkar of Parviz. The proposal was agreed. On 17th Zilqada 1018/1609 he was sent off accompanied with Fidaī Khan on the expedition of the Deccan.

It was further decided that some one should be sent to ʿĀdil Khan as requested by him. Lingo (Lakhu?), Pandit who had brought Peshkash from ʿĀdil Khan during the times of Ākbar was also relieved to proceed to the Deccan in the accompaniment of Khan Jahān. He was also favoured with robe of honour etc. Several other auxiliary forces followed the son of Khan Jahān.

105 A reference to the Firman of Shah ʿAbbās I addressed to Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shah respecting the return of Uighurlu Beg is contained in Muḥammad Qulī's letter carried to Iran by Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish Makātib (Z)

106 T.Q.S. f 127 (b)

107 Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish was the son of Ḥamza Khalifa, a renowned noble of Ṭālish, Qarābāgh. (A.A.A. 255-269, 270). He was a Qizilbāsh of Īstājlu Clan (Ibid 269) and held an important position in the nobility of Shah Muḥammad Khudabandah (Ibid 248). He joined a conspiracy of Īqwām Sultanum, mother of Shah ʿAbbās I which was engineered with the cooperation of several groups of Qizilbāsh in the year

996/1587 for enthroning Shah ʿAbbās I by dethroning Khudabandah. Though Mihdī Qulī was a much trusted figure in the plot, he defected Īqwām Sultanum and fled away (A.A.A. 269, 270). Probably by the same time he came over to Golconda. He is seen leading the Qutb Shāhī army, forming the left wing of the allied forces of Āḥmadnagar fighting for Chānd Bibī against Prince Murād in the year 1004/1595-96 (T.Q.S. f 121; Burhān 604; Firishtah 177). For his deputation as return Elchi vide T.Q.S. f 127 (b).

108 Mir Khalil ullah Khushnawis was the Elchi of ʿĀdil Shah, Ḥabash Khan of Nizām Shah and Malik ʿAmbar (Makātib (Z).

109 T.Q.S. f 127 (b)

Here the word Iraq obviously stands for Iraq-e-ʿĀjam which had the major ports of Iran including Bandar-e-ʿAbbās. This suggests that Golconda Elchi proceeded to Iran via sea route.

110 It may be a fact that Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah relied so much on Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish and wanted him to be his permanent representative at the Ṣafavī court. But the antecedents of Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish, like his defection of Īqwām Sultanum (see note 107 above) his coming to Golconda as a fugitive, pretentiously victorious performance at Āḥmadnagar (see Sec.14) and return from there before the war was over, were such factors on account of which his services as diplomat should not have been agreeable.

He does not seem to have been occuping any remarkable position in the Quṭb Shāhī Majlis or nobility. All these factors suggest that Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah proposed his detention at the Ṣafavī court with a view to keep him away from Golconda. The actual mission should have been carried by Uighurlu Beg Sultan. There is no mention of his return to Golconda in Indian or Iranian sources. Both the sources are silent about his subsequent career.

111 Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah was afraid of Mughal censor and communicated the actual message orally through the Elchis. He was further afraid of any reference to his initiative in the letters of Ṣafavī monarchs. He desired them to initiate matters as if at their own accord.

The tenor of the letter as it changed in the second part of the letter suggests that these should have been two letters. The one being the formal and official which could be exposed if situation demanded. The second part is more personal and informal and might have been communicated secretly.

112 For the full text of the letter see Makātib (Z) ff 408 b - 409 a; also see supplement.

113 A.A.A. 612

114 Makātib (Z) f 382-83

115 A.A.A. 552; Tuzuk p. 94; I.N. 34; R.I. 70

116 Ātakī f 409 (a), Bod. 101, f 370 as cited by R.I. 95 n. 1

117 For the text of the letter see Makātib (Z) p (f) 382 and also supplement.

118 According to Jahāngir Mir Jamāluddīn Ḥusayn Īnju was sent to the Deccan at the request of ʿĀdil Shah and all the rulers of the Deccan (dunyadars as Jahāngir mentions them) had full confidence in him. He reached Bijápur on 22nd Shaʿbān 1019/1610 and was given a reception at the distance of a few miles from the city by ʿĀdil Shah himself (Tuzuk 85, 89).

119 Tuzuk pp. 98, 99.

120 A.A.A. 612. Shah ʿAbbās I wrote many other letters recommending the cases of the Deccan Sultans. In one of his letters he thanked Jahāngir to have conceded to his recommendations and made a slight complaint that Jahāngir had again deputed some of his Amirs who were oppressing them (Makātib (S) ff 161 (a) - 162 (a).

121 The Golconda Elchi Mihdī Qulī Sultan Ṭālish does not seem to have ever returned to Golconda (see note 107 above). Among the Elchis of the Deccan Mir Khalilullah Khushnawis of Bijāpur was relieved with Shah Qulī Beg Zek; (Ḥabash Khan) the Elchi of Nizām Shah and Malik ʿAmbar with Darwish Beg Mar'ashi as return Elchis with them together with Ḥusayn Beg Qapuchi(?) Tabrizi for Golconda in the year 1023/1614.

But Darwish Beg Mar'ashī passed away at Shirāz on his way to the Deccan. His mission was carried by his son Muḥammadī Beg. All these Elchis were led by Mir Khalilullah Khushnawis but only Ḥusayn Beg Tabrizi could reach the Deccan in 1023/1614 (A.A.A. 612; T.Q.S. f 143 (b); while the other Elchis were held up due to unfavourable weather and were relieved again in the year 1029/1620 when another batch of the envoys of the Deccan was relieved along with the return envoys (A.A.A. 670).

122 Soon after the death of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah, Mir Muḥammad Āmin Mir Jumla could not reconcile with the new monarch and left for Iran where he reported the details of the state of affairs at the Deccan after the death of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah and the accession of Muḥammad Quṭb Shah, to Shah 'Abbās I. Since he could not be assigned a suitable position in Iran, he went over to Hindustan to join the services of Jahāngir which Shah Abbas I connived and did not award any punishment to him or to his sons who were still there in Iran (A.A.A. 623).

123 The name of Ḥusayn Beg has been mentioned variably in different codices. Though'Ḥusayn Beg' is common in every text, his designation and nativity are somewhat confused and indicated as Qaichāji Bāshī Tabrizi. The last word Tabrizi renders his nativity quite clear. Regarding the other words namely 'Qaichāji Bāshī' different codices afford different readings as Qaichāji Bāshī, Finjāhī Bashī, Fathahī Bāshī etc. But it is generally

read by modern historians as Qipchāqi. R.I. 280-281 reads it as Qaichāji based on an information contained in Suhailī Khwansari's Zail-i-Tārikh-i-Ālam Ārā-i-Ābbasī that Husayn Beg Tabrizi's son Hasan Beg was Sahib-i-Jām of the royal Qaichāji Khānah. Persian lexicons do not give the meaning of Qaichāji Khānah. At the same time there was a designation as Qapuchi Bāshi a Turki equivalent of the Arabic word Hajib which was used for an embassy both by Golconda and Iran. Since Ḥusayn Beg was virtually a Qapuchi Bāshi there is no wonder that all the above readings are the corruptions of the same word. Therefore here the version Qapuchi Bāshi is adopted. T.Q.S. Camb 'versity kings, 89; T.Q.S. State Archives 23, f 143 a; T.Q.S. SJM & L f 309 a; A.A.A. 612; Hadiqah 81; R.I. 95.

124 For the text of the letter see T.Q.S. f 144 and supplement

125 For the text of the letter see Ḥadiqah f 193 and Dr. Zor 122-123.

126 T.Q.S. f 143 (a)

127 Among other articles of gift were fifty horses of a good breed with bejewelled reins, three full pieces of zarbaft and several other things (T.Q.S. f 143 (b)).

128 Ibid

129 Little is known about Ḥaji Qambar Ali. His name has been mentioned respectfully both by Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah (T.Q.S. f 127 (b) and Shah Abbās I

(Ibid f 144 (b). He was sent to Iran by Muḥammad Qulī in the year 1018/1609 (Ibid 127 f). He is expected to be in Golconda at the death of Muḥammad Qulī in 1020/1611 and in Iran before 1023/1614. When he reported the details of Sultan's death to Shah ʿAbbās (Ibid f 144 (b). It is likely that Haji Qambar ʿAlī was a merchant, frequently travelling between Iran and Golconda and was respected by the rulers on account of his status.

130 For the text of the letter see T.Q.S. f 144 also see supplement.

131 For the sources of this letter see note 124

132 Tuzuk 114

133 Tuzuk 115

134 Tuzuk 115

135 Tuzuk 154

136 Tuzuk 164

137 Tuzuk 168; I.N. 62

138 Tuzuk 189

139 Tuzuk 189

140 Nishān of Shah Jahān dated 1st Rabīʿ II 1032/23rd January, 1623 H.A.K. No.3 S.A.A.P. also Ẓiau'ddīn Aḥmad: Mughal Archives: a descriptive catalogue of the documents pertaining to the reign of Shah Jahān, Hyderabad 1976. This Nishān holds the record

of the assignment of the title of 'Shah Jahān' to prince Khurram with his seal; Amal I, 108 Tuzuk 195-196.

141 The names of these elephants have been detailed in Tuzuk 199.

142 Ibid

143 Tuzuk 267; I.N. 87

144 Tuzuk 273

145 For the details of these relations see R.I. ch. V.

146 Tuzuk 234, 236; I.N. 77 also see F.N. 124

147 A.A.A. 623

148 Tuzuk 185

149 A.A.A. 663

150 Ibid 670.
A.A.A. records the name of this Elchi as Qāsim Beg but the rubrics given in the codex at the beginning of his letter read his name as Qāsim Beg Paran (Makātib (Z) f 399 and the same reading is attested by Ḥadiqah 80-81.

151 Tuzuk 338; I.N. 183; Makatib (Z) p (f) 399.

152 Makātib (Z) op. cit.

153 R.I. 80-83.

154 A.A.A. 674; R.I. 81

155 Ibid

156 Tuzuk 351, 352

157 Tuzuk 337; I.N. 125. For a detailed account of Shah Jahān's subjection of the Deccan in 1030/1621 see Sherwānī (Q) 392.

158 Makātib (S) f 3(a) - 4 (b); Tuzuk 358

159 For the full text of the letter see Makātib (S) ff 161 (a) to 162 (a) and supplement.

160 Makātib (S) op. cit.

161 Tuzuk 350-352

162 Tuzuk 352, 356 to 360, 396

163 Ḥadiqah 82; also see Sec. 30

164 For a full discussion on the exact date of the death of Mir Muḥammad Mumin see Zor 175.

165 Ḥadiqah 28; the Mughals were also conscious of his being too young; ʿĀmal VI, 313.

166 Tuzuk 420; I.N. 189

167 Tuzuk 381-2, 386-8, 391

168 A.A.A. 757-8

169 R.I. 90-91

170 Lane-Poole 217-220; A.A.A. 744; B.P. Saksena pp. 214-5; A. Rahim: Islamic culture Vol. 9, No.1: Mughal Relations with Persia.

171 Ḥadiqah 82

172 Makātib (Z) f 626; Hadiqah 82

173 For the Book of Protocol see Appendix A Sec. 3

174 It appears from the Mughal sources that the two Elchis went to Āgra at their own accord (P.N. I part I p. 226; ʿAmal I p. 312) whereas according to Golconda sources the two Elchis were called for by Shah Jahān from Surat to Agra, who gave them a letter as well as an oral message to be delivered to Shah ʿAbbās I. Ḥadiqah 83. The Mughal sources do not mention of Shah Jahān's letter and oral message to Shah ʿAbbās sent through those Elchis. It is a fact that Shah Jahān had sent a letter through them (Nuskha-e-Jāmai-Murāsilāt; B.M. Add 7688 ff 231 b - 32 a as cited by R.I. 116).

175 P.N. I, part I 226; Amal I, 312.

176 Ḥadiqah 83; E.F.I. 1624-25-9 300, 302, 321. It may be noted that the date of the death of Shah ʿAbbās I given in Ḥadiqah 83 as 1037 is wrong.

177 Ḥadiqah 84

178 Qāsim Beg has been stated to be a Mubin Bāshī (deliverer of oral Message - or a spokesman) Makātib (Z) 626.

179 For the full text of the letter see Makātib (Z) 626.

180 Ḥadiqah 85

181 Ibid p. 127

182 Ḥadiqah 32

183 It is strange that Golconda sources do not mention about this mission whereas the Mug͟hal sources have all recorded it (P.N. I, part I, p.227; ʿAmal I 313).

184 Ibid

185 There are many instances: S̄haik͟h Muhiu'ddīn the Mug͟hal agent brought peshkash from Golconda in the accompaniment of Wafā Khan with a letter of allegiance (P.N. I 366-7); Shah ʿAlī Beg the Mug͟hal Hajib is seen in Golconda in 1041/1632 (Ḥadiqah 127) when the pressure for peshkash was still there; in Muharram 1044/1635 Qutb ul Mulk was warned for peshkash, P.N. I, part II, 125; in Shawwāl 1045/1636 ʿAbdul Latif and Khan Jahān were sent to Golconda for bringing peshkash and Deed of Submission (P.N. Ibid 144-5, 153-4). Similar events are seen even after the Deed of Submission. See P.N. Ibid 177, 184-200, 208, 211-15; and II 99,101, 216, 222, 355, 432.

186 P.N. I part I, 373; Ḥadiqah 93-97

187 Ibid p. 130; ʿAmal II p. 148

188 Ḥadiqah 169

189 Ibid 175

190 Ibid

191 For the full text of Inqiad Nāmah see Ṭālqānī No. 47; P.N. I part II p. 178; ʿAmal II 188; see also supplement.

192 As cited by Sherwānī (Q) 436

193 For the text of this covenant (ʿAhad Nāmah) see Ṭālqānī No. 63; P.N. I part II 210-11. This 'Ahad Nāmah was emphatically referred to by ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah, after the lapse of two decades, in 1067 A.H. (see Sec. 36).

194 For Shah Jahān's coup of Qandahār and his ambitions in Turān see R.I. ch. IV; ʿAbdur Rahim: Islamic Culture Vol. IX No.1 January 1935. Mughal Relations with Persia.

195 ʿAmal I p. 626, II 1-2; P.N. I part II, p. 8

196 For the full text of the letter see Makātib (Z) p (f) 609 and supplement.

197 Riaż ul Islam has miscomputed the duration of their journey from Bāgh Ḥāfiż Rakhnā to Golconda as according to him -

> 'the two envoys saw Shah Jahān in Ramażān 1043/March 1634, handed him a letter from Shah Ṣafī and proceeded on their way to Golconda, where they arrived about a year later' (p. 116).

As a matter of fact it took only one month and few days and not a year. It should be noted that though Hadiqah (p. 156) records their arrival in the section pertaining to the events of 1044 A.H. it clearly specifies that the Elchis arrived in

Golconda in the month of Zilqada of the 'aforementioned year' which was 1043/1634.

198 See note 122

199 Ḥadiqah 157-8; for the weight of khandī see ch. III, Sec. 6(a).

200 Ibid 185

201 H. Salāṭīn p. 189. The text of the letter is not available. As a matter of normal practice it is expected that the real message might have been oral and the letter in the general form of a credential.

202 Ḥadiqah 189; Āsad ullah Tabrizī Kark Yaraq should have been quite aged as he had already come to Golconda once before in 1000 A.H. or so during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah. See Sec. 15. His second visit was after forty years.

203 According to Mirzā Nizāmu'ddīn Āḥmad Shīrāzī (Ḥadiqah 189) Mirzā Muḥammad Jauharī, brother of Āsadullah Tabrizi Kark Yaraq was previously in the retinue of Mahābat Khan the Mughal Sardār and had been staying in Golconda as a Ḥājib of Mahābat Khan. After the death of the latter (1044/1635) Mirzā Muḥammad Jauharī joined service under ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah.

204 Ibid. He was buried at the cemetery of the city (Daira Mir Mumin).

205 It may be noted that Muḥammad Āmin the brother of Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah and the father of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah had married Khānam Āghā the daughter of Mir Maqsud ʿAlī a Ṭabāṭabā Sayyid. Another daughter of Mir Maqsud ʿAlī was married to Mir Quṭbu'ddīn Niʿmatullah Dashtakī Shirāzī, who was a member of the family of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmānī. Shah Muḥammad the husband of Shahr Banu (ʿAbdullah's aunt) and the son-in-law of Khānam Āghā died in the year 1047/1638 and his son Shah Khwandkār who had married the daughter of Malik-u'ttujjār also died earlier in 1045/1636.

Consequent on the death of these persons Khānam Āghā and her widowed daughter Shahr Bānu made up to proceed on Ḥaj pilgrimage. (Hadiqah p. 206-7). Qāzī Zahir-u'ddīn being Najafī and his son being Mir Mirān are expected to be members of Kirmāni family, a branch of which had settled in Najaf as well and Mir Mirān was a frequently adopted name in that house (see Tuzuk 150, 193, 194).

206 Ḥadiqah 209-10

207 Ḥadiqah 206

208 Khuld Barin, V, f 74 a = Dhail-i-Tārīkh-i-ʿĀlam Ārā-i-ʿAbbāsī pp. 235-6 as cited by R.I. 118 Riazul Islam has further discussed the variations of this date from different sources (Ibid).

209 Makātib (Z) f 628

210 For the text of the letter see Makātib (Z) f 628. It should be noted that the rubrics given in the beginning of the letter are wrong and confused according to which it was written by Shah ʿAbbās II, which wrong.

211 Ḥadiqah 289

212 Ibid

213 Najābat Khan should be an official title and not a personal name. As he was a descendant of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmānī (Ṭālqānī No.44) he might be the son of Quṭbu'ddin Ni'matullah Dashtakī, see note 205. He had communicated the messages of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah to Shah Ṣafī (Talqani op. cit).

214 Ḥadiqah 230

215 Ibid 256

216 Ibid 238, 246, 268, 272

217 Ibid 272

218 Khuld V, ff 78 b - 9 a = Dhail p. 250;
T. Sulṭānī, f 435 a-b; f Ṣafaviyya, f 51 a
as cited by R.I. 118

219 The date of his death had been recorded in Golconda as 13th Ṣafar Ḥadiqah 312.

220 Ibid 313

221 Ibid p. 295; for the full text of the letter see Shajar f 392 (b) Shaikh Muḥammad Ṭāhir was the nephew of Ibn Khātun Ḥadiqah 295.

222 H.Salāṭīn pp. 311-319; Shajar Ibid. R.I's contention (p. 118) that neither of the Deccan powers could send the usual congratulatory embassy to Iran on Shah ʿAbbās II's accession is therefore not correct.

223 Ṭālqānī No.21; I.T.W. 160 and also Dabistān 204 as cited by Shamsullah (I) 61.

224 For the sequel of Shah Jahān's strategy at Qandahār and Tūrān and his subsequent relations with those countries, see R.I. ch. VI.

225 For the life of Mir Jumla see the excellent work of Jagdish Narain Sarkār: The life of Mir Jumla, especially its appendix D at p. 302 regarding the arrest of Mir Muḥammad Āmin by ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah.

226 ʿAmal III p. 213; For the full text of the letter see Ṭālqānī No.70 and supplement.

227 Aurangzeb's letter of warning in this respect has been given by Ṭālqānī at No.71 and a similar letter written by Sultan Muḥammad at No.89.

228 ʿAmal III p. 224

229 Ibid

230 Ibid 228

231 Ibid 229

232 Ibid 223-4

233 There are scores of Newsletters (Waqāi's) recorded by the Mughal intelligencers in Golconda during the reign of Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb still preserved by the S.A.A.P., and show how the Mughals kept themselves informed of the state of affairs in Golconda and Bijāpur. S.W.D.

234 It is interesting that ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah furnished exact figures of the Mughal forces to Shah ʿAbbas II whereas the contemporary Mughal sources do not give the strength of army.

235 This charge does not hold good as ʿAbdullah himself had assigned the province of Karnatak to Muḥammad Sa'id when he was in Golconda (see Sec. 37). see also supplement.

236 Meaning: " ʿAlī is the friend of Allah".

237 This Mirānjī is expected to be Mir Mirān, son of Qāẓī Ẓahiru'ddīn Najafī who had gone to Iran with ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah's aunt. Mir Mirān was appointed a member of the Majlis when his father was sent to Iran Ḥadiqah 209.

238 ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah's statement regarding the plunder of Hyderabad city and particularly his own effects appear to be exaggerated. Similarly the mention of the Sayyid ladies being dishonoured by infidels and Āfghāns also appears to be a measure for provoking Shah ʿĀbbās II against the Mughals.

The Mughal sources record that on account of the mischief of some military men of Golconda the

Mughal army was provoked but every care was taken to protect the inhabitants of the city and specially the city palace of ʿAbdullah from sabotage by Mughal lashkar ʿAmal III 223-4.

239 For the text of the letter see Ṭālqānī No.20 and supplement

240 ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah's letter addressed to Shah ʿAbbās contains a reference to Āurangzeb's departure from Āurangābād on 14th Rabiʿ II 1067. But the letter itself is undated. The second letter addressed to his aunt is dated as 'early Jumada I 1067'. Therefore the two letters were written within the span of two to three weeks after 14th Rabiʿ II and in every likelihood should have been written and sent together early in Jumada I 1067/1656.

241 For the text of the letter see I.T.W. 12 Riażul Islam's contention (p. 122) that this letter was a draft which would have been communicated in remote likelihood is perhaps based on the omission of the names of persons in the text of the letter instead of which a reference has been made by saying so and so (falan). It may be noted that the word falan is never written at draft stage as it is entered by the epistolarians to obviate probable complications while making their epistolography (inshā) accessible to general public.

Riażul Islam's observation (p. 122) that the Shah was not slow to seize the opportunity

offered by the war of succession to inflame the kings of Bījāpur and Golconda against the Mughals, urging them to sink their differences and assuring them that he was preparing to move his own forces against the Mughal Empire, laying the inevitable emphasis on the sectarian solidarity, cannot be supported. All the above inferences of Riazul Islam are based on the four letters, two addressed to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah and two to ʿĀdil Shah (I.T.W. 12, 45 and 10, 48). The above letters of Shah ʿAbbās II are all in reply to the letters of Quṭb Shah and ʿĀdil Shah. ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah's letters have already been discussed in sections 36 and 37. The circumstances implicated in this correspondence never suggest that ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah could be inflamed to fight against the Mughals. Moreover Shah ʿAbbās II never committed, in these letters, his plans to invade Hindustan. He just advised the Deccan rulers to wait and make best use of the situation created by the war of succession among the Mughal princes.

Lastly Riazul Islam has unnecessarily confused the two letters of Shah ʿAbbās II addressed to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah (I.T.W. 12 and 45) as brought by Mirzā Muqīm. For the letters brought by Mirzā Muqīm see section 39 below.

242 For his military aid to Murād see I.T.W. 8 and for Dārā Shikoh: Ibid p. 5

243 ʿAmal III p. 263-288; K.K. II 5; Dilkashā 15-19.

244 For the text of the letter see Ṭālqānī No.80 and supplement.

245 For the text of the letter see Ṭālqānī letter No. 81. For the war with Jaswanth Singh see Dilkashā 18 and 19.

246 Dilkashā 27; Letter of prince Muḥammad Sultan Ṭālqānī No. 83

247 There are many reports regarding the submission of peshkash by ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah to the Imperial Treasury; the correspondence between ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah and his son-in-law prince Sultan Muḥammad contains interesting references to the payment of Peshkash during that period see Ṭālqānī 83, 91, 92, 93 similarly the Mughal Waqais of Hyderabad dated 1st Muharram 1072/1661, 9th Muharram 1072/1661, 10th Rajab 1072/1661, 29th Shaʿbān 1072/9th April, 1662, 4th Shawwāl 1072/13th May, 1662 and 7th Shawwāl 1072/1662 contain information regarding various instalments of peshkash in cash or kind sent by ʿAbdullah to the Mughal court also see S.W. D 1-20.

248 Talqani 76

249 K.K. II 191-196; Dilkashā 46-48; for an excellent account of the treaty of Purandar and its impact on Bijāpur and Golconda see Sherwānī Q 448-449.

250 K.K. II 220.

251 Khāssa Sharifah was the monarch's private state also see ch. I Sec.9 and Lambton

252 S.W.D. 4

253 From the contents of the letter two things are clear; firstly that it was written when the war of succession was not yet concluded, secondly Shah ʿAbbās II was prone to aggravate the situation. Āurangzeb could occupy the Imperial throne in 1068/1658 and the first Iranian Elchi reached Delhi in 1070/1660. In such circumstances Muḥammad Muqīm Kitābdār should have left Iran during the war of succession among the Mughal princes and should have reached Golconda during the same period or immediately after.

254 For his letter carried to Bijāpur see I.T.W. 48

255 For the full text of the letter see I.T.W. 45-48 and also (with minor textual variations) Makātib (S) f 3(b).

256 S.W.D. 4, 7, 12, 52, 53.

257 Ibid 4, 5

258 For the details of the embassy of Budaq Sultan at the Delhi court see R.I. 125-127, 232.

The name of the Elchi has been mentioned as Budaq Beg in Mughal Chronicles (K.K.Vol. II, p.124); A.N. Kāẓim (pp. 607-609) but in the Mughal News Letters his name was recorded as Budaq Sultan (S.W.D. 7). Similarly the Iranian sources too make a mention of his name as Budaq Sultan (I.T.W. 82); R.I. 125-127 relied on Indian chronicles and mentioned the name of the Elchi as Budaq Beg which is not adopted here.

259 All these details have been ascertained from a Mughal News Letters dated 23rd Ṣafar 1072/8th October 1661 also see S.W.D. 12.

260 Ibid 52-53

261 I.T.W. 68

262 Here the name have been again suppressed obviously due to the strained relations of Iran and Hindustan.

263 For the text of the letter see I.T.W. 68-69.

264 For details of these unhappy relations and the death of Shah ʿAbbās see R.I. 127-129.

265 K.K. 235, 236; Dilkashā 94-95.

266 For the text of the Firman see Z̄afrah 35-38.

267 Dilkashā 95; Shahnawaz: Ma'asir-ul-Umarā 37.

268 Dilkashā 106

269 For the text of the covenant (Ta'hud Nāma) see A. Ṭālqānī No.9; Zafara 38-39. The later records the date of its execution as 18th Ṣafar.

270 Dilkashā p. 88; for a detailed discussion for Shivāji's aforementioned visit to Hyderabad see Sherwānī (Q) 636-637.

271 Dilkashā 89

272 Yusuf Ḥussain (Āurangzeb) p. 113

273 Dilkashā 113

274 Ibid 116

275 Ibid 117

276 Ṭālqānī No. 15

277 K.K. II 264

278 K.K. II 284-290; Riażul Islam p. 131

279 Ṭālqānī No. 18

280 K.K. II 292-293

281 Ibid

282 Ibid 294-295

283 K.K. II 296

284 Ibid 299

285 Ibid 305-306; Dilkashā 146-147
The latter source has recorded the event under the section pertaining to the year 1096-1097 whereas the former under the events pertaining to 1095.

286 K.K. II 307-308; Dilkashā p. 147; Ṭālqānī Nos. 2, 3, 11, 19, 22 and 24

287 K.K. II 308; Dilkashā p. 148

288 K.K. II 313; S.D.A.R. 152

289 K.K. II 313

290 See Sec. 32

291 Ṭālqānī (A) No. 5

292 Khawārij or the Kharijites formed the earliest religio-political sect of Islam. Once they were the supporters of the fourth caliph ʿAlī but later turned his deadly opponent and arose in armed opposition against him (Hitti 246).

293 Here Ābul Ḥasan has made a mention of the Mughals in most abject terms like calling them of the nature of vultures and owls. He has vehemently stressed his faith in Shī'ite creed which could not be a fact ch. IV.

294 Shivājī had already passed away by the year 1091/1680. Here Ābul Ḥasan seems to have made reference to Sambhajī. Regarding the chase of Ākbar see section 41 and footnote 280 above.

295 This complaint of Ābul Ḥasan is ratified by Mughal records also. See S.D.A.R. 25, 35, 126.

296 For the full text of the letter see Ṭālqānī (A) No. 25 and supplement.
For the meaning of this Arabic phrase see n 236.

THREE

Commercial Contacts

Sec. 1 Perspective

The economic and commercial relations of Golconda with Iran form an important part of the 16th and 17th century international trade and politics. But the economic histories of these two important centres of medieval economic activities affecting the social, political and economic life of many a people of the East and West remain hitherto unwritten.[1] In the absence of a comprehensive economic history of the two lands, an observation of their commercial relations should be far from satisfactory. It is beyond the scope of this study to indulge into an enquiry regarding the production, the consumption, entrepreneurship, the labour and other aspects of economic activities of Golconda and Iran. Nevertheless the commercial contacts of the two have been viewed from a point afforded by the contemporary data available on this especial aspect.

It was a time when a great industrial revolution brought forth by the architects of Vijayānagar empire through their textile industry, and succeeded by Golconda, had been

affecting the world market from Japan to England. The European factories which had less industrial commodities of their own and still lesser capital, played a considerable role as the organisers of most of the Eastern markets and so a contemporary world market.

Sec. 2 Transportation and Communication

The main oceanic and trunk routes between Golconda and Iran have been discussed in the Introduction. Maritime traffic between the two countries was conducted by the ships of variable sizes and standards which were manufactured either in Golconda or were sailing in from Holland, Denmark, Portugal or England. The Western factories in Golconda, as mentioned above, had been providing or organising large scale maritime transport facility as a part of their trade along the coastal South Asia and East Indies. Their interest in freight led them to hire ships from private parties and sometimes to hire even the State ships of Golconda.[2]

So far as the parties of relations are concerned Golconda was a major ship manufacturing centre. Its ship building industry flourished high at Narsāpūr Peta about ten to twelve leagues from Masūlīpatam.[3] Golconda ships could carry loads varying from six hundred tonnes to one thousand tonnes and in some cases even fifteen hundred tonnes.[4] Golconda ships had been sailing out to various coasts of the Far East and upto the Red Sea and Iran in the West.

There is no evidence of any major ship building Industry run in Safavi Iran yet Iran had many well developed ports. Under the influence of the Portuguese there developed first the port of Hōrmūz which had become a centre of overseas traders of the East and West. A good number of gentile (hindū) merchants had settled there.[5] Hōrmūz had also turned into a flourishing international bazar of spices, drugs, silk cloth, fine Persian tapestry and Persian horses which were supplied to India.[6] By the middle of the 17th century Shah ʿAbbās II encouraged the British factories to overthrow the Portuguese. Consequent on which Hōrmūz was almost plundered and Bandar ʿAbbās developed as the greatest of Iranian ports. Maritime traffic between Golconda and Iran was then mainly dominated by the English and partly by the Dutch, with whom sea-faring was felt safer by the people of both the countries.[7]

The land route via Qandahār and the Mughal Empire was not convenient for Iran - Golconda traffic and the sea route offered a safe and comfortable alternative so much so that persons had just to get into a ship at Masūlīpatam and then only to get down at Bandar ʿAbbās.[8] Nizām-u'ddīn Shīrāzī asserts that the maritime traffic was active during the whole year at the port of Masūlīpatam.[9] The statement seems rather exaggerated; during the heavy monsoon season between June and September ships as a rule did not ply between the Persian Gulf and the Golconda coast.[10]

Sec. 3 Freight Trade

The excessive maritime traffic carried through various types of ships, cargos and ladings moving all through the Eastern Archipelago circulating in the Indian Ocean penetrating now in the Persian Gulf and then into the Red Sea moving farther upto the Northmost of the continental Europe and England, formed a peculiar feature of contemporary history of trade and culture. Such a heavy traffic established a lucrative freight trade organised by the Golconda native businessmen as well as the Iranian merchants and European factors. The nature of European factories was that of small bands of commercial organisers making efforts in alien markets to make handsome profits with the employment of their meagre capital coupled with their appreciable capacity of organising different business in different lands. Money and entrepreneurship were not their only asset; their ships and cargos too were an important trade instrument. Classified data regarding the contribution of the above agencies, in the development of Golconda and Iran freight trade, in the absence of material information about the role of Iranian businessmen, cannot be furnished. Yet a general evaluation leads to infer that, though fluctuating throughout the period, the role of all the agencies was fairly competitive. The freight trade between Golconda and Iran was obviously dense respecting the traffic of passengers and thin in respect of commercial commodities compared to its progress in the Eastern

Archipelago. With the establishment of the British hold, subjugating the Portuguese in the Iranian Bazar in 1622 A.D.[11] and with the opening of the Dutch factory in Gombroon (Bandar ʿAbbās) in sixteen thirtees, freight trade between Golconda and Iran received a new impetus, though both the English and the French were in a state of keen competition.[12]

In sixteen fifties, freighting of goods and passengers from coromandel to Persia yielded a profit of 13,020 florins when the profit gained by the English should have been at least equal if not higher. The data regarding the profit gained by the Indians and Iranians and the Western burghers on their freight trade are missing. It may be safely inferred that an annual approximate freight profit on the total freight trade between Golconda and Iran should have been more than three times the Dutch gained in 1652 through its one agency Jan Company.[13]

Freight had many components, at least three of which were main and based on the capital value, the nature of consignment and the distance of transportation. The rate of freight specially varied according to distances and also from commodity to commodity.[14]

Freight trade also affected the price level as the prices on imported or exported goods were fixed in such a way as to cover the freight.[15] Freight trade, like any other trade, between Golconda and Iran was governed by several

factors and manifested a considerable fluctuation.[16] There had been the movements of its boom and its slump throughout the period.[17] On occasions it was totally stopped. There are instances when the duties on freight were consolidated and paid annually in a lump sum on all imports and exports as it was agreed between Wemmer Van Berchem and ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah at three thousand pagodas per year. Still the harbour authorities had to be pleased with gifts by the tradesmen.[18]

However, bigger ships were moving from coromandel ports to Bandar ʿAbbās generally carrying passengers.[19] The establishment of Dutch factories also contributed to the development of freight trade specially after 1640. Both passengers and goods were carried in Dutch ships regularly between Golconda and Iran. The freight trade was sometimes so profitable as to make up the losses of capital potential imported from Iran.[20]

Sec. 4 Currencies and Exchange

The bazars, particularly of coastal Golconda and Iran were the museums of contemporary coins of the East and West were currently used there. One could see there the florins and the stuivers of Holland, the ducats of Hungary, Rials of Spain, Rixdollars of various countries, Cubangs of Japan in addition to a good number of old and new silver and gold coins of Golconda, Iran and Mughal India.

Among the indigenous coins of Golconda the gold and

silver coins were struck after the names of the Rāyās of Vijayā-nagar and the Mughal emperors respectively. Quṭb Shahs struck only copper coins (fūlūs) in their names. The gold coins of Golconda were of variable weights and denominations. All sorts of gold coins were referred to by a broad term 'Hūn',[21] but for the convenience of this discussion they may be categorised as Pagodas and Fanams to denote the gold coins of higher and lower denominations.[22]

There were old Pagodas and new Pagodas and inspite of their equal weight and metallic value the older coins were treated as if of a greater value and exchanged by paying premium on the new coins. Among all types of Pagodas, 'Hūn Sivā Rāyā' was a much desired coin. Shah Jahān and Āurangzeb preferred to receive their peshkash in terms of Hūn Sivā Rāyā.[23] It was Hūn Sivā Rāyā which served a standard money especially for accounts. Though the coins of that Hun or Pagoda[24] existed in Golconda; with the name of the king Sri Pratāpā Sadāsivā Rāyā on the reverse and the legend of Sivā and Pārvathī on the obverse; it may not be expected that it was always in actual exchange.[25] In every likelihood its use should be more in account as the case of Pound in England or Tōmāns in Iran. But in any case Pagoda or Hūn (gold coin) of one type or the other had always been the major currency of exchange in Golconda. It may be noted that the Mughals were having their gold coin as Mōhūr or Āshrafī but it served rarely as an actual coin of exchange or even of account. Though Āshrafī had always

been in the market yet Rupee was the Mughal money of exchange and account for all occasions.[26] It formed a peculiar feature of contemporary Indo Iranian Market that while the money of exchange, both actual and theoritical, was gold coin of highest denomination in Golconda; Hindustan and Iran offered Rupee and 'Abbāsī the silver coins of middle denominations for exchange. That naturally led the money of Hindustan and Iran to be lighter compared with the Hūn of Golconda. Rupee, which was introduced in Hindustan by Sher Shah Sūrī had since then its own changing value[27] and it was introduced in Golconda by Shah Jahān by getting it minted there under the terms of The Deed of Submission. Though minted in Golconda, as apparent from legends, a Rupee could never be a Qūṭb Shāhī coin.[28]

The currency of Golconda particularly the Hūn was in use at its mettalic value. With the rise of the price of copper during the second half of the 17th century the price of gold was affected and therefore the value of gold coin. It is interesting that a currency, which had no extra token value over its metal, ran down on account of the change in mettalic price without showing any resistance at the strength of its token value. The Qūṭb Shahs whose coins were made of copper only appear to be incapable of exercising any influence in maintaining the value of gold coins current in their Sultanate. This was one of the most unwholesome sequel of farming out revenue administration, mining and commercial taxes, by the

economically indolent Qūṭb Shahs.[29] Nevertheless, restricting to the point of discussion, the value of a Hūn (Sīvā Rāyā) of Golconda officially remained between five Rupees down to three Rupees per Hūn. But the exchangers of money had been exploiting a premium from 14 to 70 per cent.[30]

The other category of gold coins was Fānam which was a coin smaller than a Hūn.[31] The relation between Hūn and Fānam varied from place to place. A Pagoda in Masūlīpatam was exchanged with fifteen Fānams; in Nizāmpatam with sixteen Fānams whereas thirty two in Madras and twelve Fānams in Golconda.[32]

The Hūn and Fānam had a changing value in relation to Sterling. Nevertheless the prevalent rate of exchange of a Pagoda was 8 Sh and that of Fānam 3 ds.[33]

Among the coins of silver, mention may be made of Nevels (8-9 Nevels = 1 Fānam);[34] Ṭār (4-5 Ṭār = 1 Nevel)[35] and Kāsū (12 Kāsū = 1 Ṭār).[36] The copper coins called Fūlūs are not expected in international exchange, even theoritically in the minutest fraction of accounts.[37]

The biggest standard gold coin in Iran was Tōmān which was equal to £ 3-SH 5-ds 6.[38] According to Fryer it was an imaginary coin like a pound which was good 'to reckon'.[39] The actual coin of exchange was a golden Venetian either brought from Venice or Turkey.[40] The indigenous coin of exchange minted and current in Iran during the visit of Bowrey and

Fryer was a silver coin called ʿAbbāsī valued at Sh 1-ds 4[41] and further small coins Maḥmūdī[42] worth ds 8 and Shāhī worth ds 4.[43] The Iranian coins were therefore as below:

		£	Sh	d
Shāhī	=	0 -	0 -	4
Maḥmūdī	=	0 -	0 -	8
ʿAbbāsī	=	0 -	1 -	4

(i.e. 2 Shāhī = 1 Maḥmūdī; 2 Maḥmūdī = 1 ʿAbbāsī)

The Shāhī was worth a little more than a Fānam of Golconda i.e. 3 Shāhīs = 4 Fānams. Fifty Shāhīs made a Tomān. In addition to the gold and silver coins there were brass coins of the following names and denominations.

Brass

2	pice	=	1	Ghaz
2	Ghaz	=	1	Ghazi Begī
2	Ghazī Begī	=	1	Bistī
5	Ghazi Begī or	=	1	Shāhī
2½	Bistī			

Silver

2	Shāhī	=	1	Maḥmūdī
2	Maḥmūdī	=	1	ʿAbbāsī
2	ʿAbbāsī	=	1	Surat Rupee

(3 Shāhī = 4 Fānams of Golconda)

The first two coins, pice and Ghaz were 'nominal' and

not real,[44] and were in use as coins of account for minor fractions. Besides the Persian coins there were the coins of almost all the contemporary States exchanged in the Persian Gulf.

The exchange value of the coins of Golconda, and Hindustan showed a constant tendency of devaluation through the course of 17th century. During the times of Jahāngīr a Tōmān was worth thirty Rupees[45] but its price increased to forty two Rupees[46] during the reign of Āurangzeb. Similarly a Tōmān was worth 6 2/3 Hūns[47] during the times of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah and it appreciated to 8 1/3 Hūns[48] during the reign of Ābul Ḥasan. By the close of the period of this observation the currency of Golconda and Hindustan showed a downward trend whereas the currency of Iran gained theoritical stability.

The European gold coin, Venetian, was a common medium of exchange in all the markets between Iran and Golconda and was imported from Iran into various bazars of Hindustan in huge quantities.[49] English currency also played its role in Golconda - Iran monetary transactions after the East India Company supplanted the Portuguese on the Golconda coast and in Iran. Apart from several other intervening currencies the prevalent rates of exchange between Hūn, Tōmān and Rupee may be conveniently tabulated below in terms of their Pound value.

Table

(a) Golconda

		£	Sh	d
Tar	=	0	0	0.007
Nevel	=	0	0	0.033
Fānam	=	0	0	3
Hūn	=	0	8	0

(See above and notes 31 to 36)

(b) Iran

		£	Sh	d
Pice	=	0	0	0.2
Ghaz	=	0	0	0.4
Ghazi Begi	=	0	0	0.8
Bistī	=	0	0	1.6
Shāhī	=	0	0	4
Maḥmūdī	=	0	0	8
ʿAbbāsī	=	0	1	4
Tōmān	=	3	6	6

(See above and notes 38 to 44)

(c) Hindustan

		£	Sh	d
Pice	=	0	0	0.37
Silver Rupee	=	0	1	7 (to 0.2.3)
Āshrafī or Gold Mohur	=	2	3	9

The rates in these tables broadly cover the fluctuations which took place at different times and in various places.

It may be noted that Golconda, Iran and Hindustan had bi-metallist currencies. Iran and Hindustan had Tōmān and Āshrafī as their highest coins of account like the British Pound; whereas in Golconda the heavier series of Pagodas or Hūns as well as Fānams of different denominations were all made of gold and served both as money of account as well as actual legal tender. So in actual practice Golconda maintained a heavy unimetallic golden currency to be exchanged with the lighter Mughal Rupee, the Iranian ʿAbbāsī, the Dutch Florins or the British Sterling. As a matter of principle the lighter money should gradually drive the heavier out of circulation. So the Golconda Hūn suffered a constant drive out to Iran, Hindustan and European countries.[50]

Sec. 5 The structure of Golconda bazar

The Golconda sultanate gained a good influence in the world bazar with the beginning of the 17th century on account of two main reasons. Firstly the earlier expansion of Golconda territories during the times of Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah could have embraced the Gingili coast only, while the major coastal line of coromandel could be annexed to the sultanate by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah after the reduction of Vijayānagar in Ṣafar 987/May 1579.[51] Secondly the European merchants, who subsequently proved an effective agency in the development of trade in Golconda, had not instituted any of their significant establishments in Golconda upto 1613. Even the Portuguese

who had been having their commercial hold at Hōrmūz and on coastal Iran as well as on the Malābār coast, had but little interest in Coromandel which was not included in any of their three governments.[52] Of course there are notices of Iranian merchants in Golconda even before 1008/1600 though the actual details of their business are wanting.[53] The Dutch factories particularly the Jan Company was established in Coromandel in 1025/1616[54] and the British merchants penetrated in Golconda as early as in 1026/1617.[55]

The structure of Golconda bazar was a loose but colossal complex of specialized industries and raw agricultural and mineral commodities which could be bought at the dealer's counter or even directly at the theatre of agricultural or industrial production. The bazar was governed by the principle of free trade making it accessible to the merchants from all over the world.[56] The peculiar feature of Golconda bazar, despite its several highly specialised branches was an unhappy absence of sound native entrepreneurs or business organizers. The situation paved way for three factors which governed the structure of bazar throught the period of this study and all the three factors manifested the government attitude towards trade within and outside the sultanate.

In their revenue administration Qūṭb Shahs adhered to the principle of farming out provinces, districts and further sub-division to the nobles of various ranks in a

hierarchical order.[57] The system assigned a good deal of autonomy to each noble within his jurisdiction. The object of the system clearly explains government's primary care more for revenue than for public interest. That led to disallow the evolution of a sound, congenial and unilateral commercial policy of the state. Secondly the open and productive bazar of Golconda attracted the European merchants to establish their factories which played an important role in organising their business which was encouraged both by the nobility and the Government in view of their own interest. No doubt there had been casual moments leading to unhappy relations between the western merchants and the administrative elite leading further to the displeasure of the monarchs, but such moments were short lived.[58] The alien merchants particularly the Dutch and the English played an important organising role in industrial and even agricultural fields and served an effective agency in conducting overseas trade. Their role in the commercial transactions between Golconda and Iran was perhaps more strong than that played by the indigenous element.

The third factor was the indigenous Sāhūkār and middleman who had their sickly or sickening role both in financing and organising the business.[59]

All the three factors were adversely affecting the industrial labour of Golconda whose skill and industry made Golconda bazar so productively booming that on many occasions

the purchasing capacity of the Dutch and the English and many of the financers of the Eastern Archipelago failed despite their earnest desire to make purchases. But still the same labourers, both on account of natural hazards and human malevolence failed on occasions to sell its skilled labour and had either to migrate or sell itself off as a commercial commodity for slave.[60]

In spite of the above conditions the bazar of Golconda in its very nature was the producers' bazar catering to a large scale export trade all over the contemporary world from Japan in the East to England in the West.

Sec. 6 Weights and measures in Golconda

Like Iran, in Golconda too, the practice of weighing prevailed over the practice of measuring commodities. 'All ordinary goods other than clothes' were sold by weight. Nevertheless measures of capacity were also there but were not seen in international transactions.[61] The units of heavy and minute weights were different in denomination despite casual analogy in nomenclature.

(a) Heavy Weights

So far as the system of heavy weight was concerned Golconda bazar presented too many systems. The indigenous system too had some regional variations. A system of heavy

weights mostly dominating all other systems is tabulated here.

3 Tōla[62]	=	1 Pollam[63]	=	0.075 lbs Dutch 0.08175 lbs avdp	=	35.425 grammes
24 Tōla or 8 Pollam	=	1 Seer	=	0.6 lbs Dutch 0.654 lbs avdp	=	283.40 grammes
5 Seer	=	1 Viss	=	3 lbs Dutch 3.27 lbs avdp	=	1 KG 417 grammes
8 Viss or 40 Seer	=	1 Maund Masulipatam	=	24 lbs Dutch 26.16 lbs avdp	=	11 KG 865 grammes
20 Maund[64]	=	1 Kandy or[65] 1 Bahar	=	480 lbs Dutch 523.2 lbs avdp	=	237 KG 320 grammes
*		*		*		*
Littel[66]	=		=	288.073 Dutch lbs 314 lbs avdp	=	136 KG 428 grammes
				It was especially used for weighing indigo		
*		*		*		*
Parra (Bimlipatam)	=		=	45 lbs Dutch 49.05 lbs avdp	=	22 KG 249 grammes
Last (Bimlipatam)	=	72 Parra	=	3240 lbs Dutch 3531.6 lbs avdp	=	1602 KG
Parra (Pulicat)	=		=	48 Dutch lbs 52.32 lbs avdp	=	23 KG 731 grammes
Last (Pulicat)	=	80 Parras	=	3840 Dutch lbs 4275.6 lbs avdp	=	1979 KG 377 grammes
				The Last and Parra measures were used for weighing rice and wheat[67]		

Tōlā

A Tola was an important unit both in Golconda and Hindustan. It was a common denomination, though variable in

standard, both in the systems of heavy and minute weights. In actual practice it was a large denomination in the scale of minute weights while a small denomination in the scale of heavy weights. Its weight in the Mughal systems, both minute and heavy, was uniform as each Tōla comprised 12 Māshas or 185.5 Grains avdp. and each Māsha 8 Ratis or Gūngchīs. (Gūngchī = 1.932 Grains avdp. or 3.5 Jau.

A Tōla in Golconda had variable standards in different scales. In the scales of minute weights it was equal to 9 Māshas or 139.104 Grains avdp.[68]

(b) Minute Weights

The units of minute weights were required to measure precious metals, stones and drug ingredients. The system of minute weights, in vogue in Ṣafavī Iran as well as in Golconda, was a complex of Arabic, Persian, Greek and Indian systems. The best treatise on the subject is Risālah-i-Miqdāriyah contributed by Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin, the peshwa of Golconda at the instance of sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.[69]

The basic smallest unit according to Mīr Mūmin was a Ḥabbah equal to one Jau or a barley grain.[70] Higher units were therefore as tabulated below.

2 Ḥabbah	=	1 Ṭassuj	=	1.444 grains (grs)	=	0.0907	grammes
2 Ṭassūj	=	1 Qirāṭ	=	2.888 "	=	0.1814	"

2 Qirāṭ	= 1 Dānak[71]	= 4.976 grains (grs)	= 0.3624 grammes
6 Dānak	= 1 Diram[72]	= 29.856 "	= 2.1768 "
17 Qirāṭ	= 1 Miṣqal[73]	= 50.396 "	= 3.0838 "
63 Qirāṭ	= 1 Iṣtār or Tola[74]	= 182.000 "	= 11.7936 "
7½ Miṣqāl	= 1 U'qiyah[75]	= 377.970 "	= 23.1285 "
12 U'qiyah	= 1 Raṭl[76]	= 4535.640 "	= 277.5420 "
2 Raṭl	= 1 Maund (Man)	= 9071.280 "	= 555.0840 "
1 7/8 Maund	= 1 Kailajah	= 17008.650 "	= 1040.7825 "
3 Kailajah	= 1 Makkūk	= 51025.950 "	= 3122.3475 "
50 Maund or 100 Raṭl	= 1 Qinṭār	= 453564.000 "	= 27754.20 "

The standards of minute weights as defined above, particularly the units of high denomination, had a commercial value in the wholesale transaction of precious metals and drugs in the International markets of Iran and Golconda. Both the precious metals and drugs constituted a significant item of commercial commodities transacted between the two markets under study. The units of low denomination might have a commercial value in extreme cases but they had relational value in so far as at least the enormous recipes of drugs were poured forth from Iran to Golconda and were in turn a cause for large scale commercial indenture. Moreover the invoices of jewel and jewellery whether transacted as commercial goods or gift articles, contained full particulars of the weights of articles even to the details of Surkhs.[77]

(c) Measures of Length

All sorts of textiles including carpets were measured both in Iran and Golconda with cubit and Gaz of variable standards.[78]

In Golconda there were the measures of almost the same denomination as those in Iran but of a more natural standard.[79] The main measures of length in Golconda may be tabulated as

a Cubit or Hasta	=	18.7 Inches
a Gaz	=	33.5 Inches[80]

The above standards chiefly pertained to Masūlīpatam. The textile pieces of uniform quality and size were also sold by counting in scores; a Score being called a Corge.[81] In addition to the above Golconda measures of length, there were other alien systems naturally adopted by the foreign merchants; from Portugal, England, France, Holland and Denmark et cetera within their own business organization.

Sec. 7 Export Commodities of Golconda

Golconda bazar afforded quite a good variety of consumers' goods and raw stuff to fulfill the needs of the local consumers as well as to feed its export trade. Not all but some of its commodities were exported to Iran. The actual volume of export may not be worked out with mathematical exactitude yet an attempt shall be made to assess the average annual

volume of export trade. The commodities which were exported from Golconda to Iran may first be introduced here in broad categories.

1) Textiles: Golconda was one of the very few big, if not the biggest of all, centres of textile industry in the contemporary world. It manufactured plain and patterned textiles and knitted pieces of a great variety. The patterned cloth was both printed and woven. Of course the main stuff was cotton but the production of silk and satin, plain and patterned, too was not lagging behind. The names of myriad varieties of coromandel textiles are scattered throughout the Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and other literature of the Deccan dating from the times of the Vijayānagar empire which was the first and the original school of that industry. Golconda had inherited only a few vestiges of that enormous technology. Some of the prevailing types of cloths manufactured in Golconda were, fine Salampores, Percullaes Izarees, Oringall Beteelaes (Warangal Beathila) Allejaes, Saderunches, Collo-waypoos, Sasarguntes, Romalls, Dungarees (Dangrī), Sali Cloth.[82] The colourful patterns and the exquisite texture of Golconda textile was admired throughout the contemporary world from Japan to England where these textiles were imported.

The main centres of that industry of Golconda were at Masulipatam, Pulicat and Negapatam et cetra. All kinds of plain and printed textiles and hosiery were exported to Iran.[83]

2) Furniture: Golconda also produced very beautiful wood works, like 'chests of drawers', escritoires (writing cases) tables and chairs of ebony beautifully wrought and inlaid with turtle shell and ivory were in great demand in Iran as in other parts of the contemporary world.[84]

3) Gunpowder and Saltpetre: Golconda produced a good quantity of saltpetre and developed the production at coromandel especially under the organisation of the Dutch and English companies. In 1026/1617 it exported gunpowder to all the Asian bazars.[85] The demand of gunpowder was constant and high in Iran also.[86] Masulipatam was a major gunpowder and also cordage manufacturing centre.[87]

4) Iron and Steel: Golconda had good deposits of Iron and also other minerals specially those required in the development of Iron and Steel industries such as chromite, coal, and manganese.[88] Pig Iron, Iron bands, Iron bars as well as cannon balls formed an important export commodity of Golconda. The export trade of Iron and steel was not regular but it gained a good demand in the Eastern Archipelago and Iran after 1043/1634 yielding a gross profit from 80% to 100%.[89] Its slow transportation from mines to bazar on the backs of oxen slightly increased its price, but it was a cheap commodity sold in terms of 'Littel'.[90] It catered to the needs of Iranian iron and steel industry in every likelihood that of ordnance.[91] Probably in view of the

strategic requirements, Iran showed a trend of increased import of Iron and steel from Golconda. Statistics available for a couple of years are furnished here so as to indicate the increasing export trade.

Year	Quantum of steel pieces exported to Iran in Littels	Quantum of Iron pieces exported to Iran in Littels
1634	6,684	9,600
1635	15,440	5,039[92]

Golconda also produced a few varieties of dye-stuffs from botanical sources affording red, blue and yellow colours. Needless to say that black green and white colours were more natural and easy especially with the textile material. So the abundance of these basic colours, their combinations, blendings, the depth of tint and shades of them afforded an infinite scope of the varieties of textile pattern. Those colours, especially red and blue, were in considerable demand in the contemporary world market of the East and West. The natural agents supplying the red and blue colours were the Chey root and Indigo which were amply produced in various parts of Golconda.[93] Such dye stuffs were exported to Iran as well and were one of the chief export commodities of Golconda. Dye stuffs were mainly hoarded up and exported to Iran by Indian merchants while the Dutch had little opportunity to trade in them.[94] The quantity of indigo exported every year was between three hundred to four hundred Bahars.[95] The

average volume of indigo exported to Iran may be judged from casual information provided by the Dutch sources. By the year 1644 A.D. the average supply of indigo to Iran was 44000 lbs.[96] The profit on indigo was fantastic. Some of its qualities could fetch a gross profit of 234%.[97] There were many varieties of indigo sold at different rates.[98] There had been much competition on its export trade between the native merchants and the European factors.[99]

Precious minerals

Golconda was famous for its opulent mineral deposits.[100] The diamonds and rubies of Golconda were exported all over the world. Diamond mining had been a developed industry in the region. The industry ran under State control and strengthened its export trade. There is no specific data about the export of Golconda diamonds to Iran as a commercial commodity. Yet there are notices of Golconda diamonds sent to Iran as articles of gift. Of course Golconda rubies were exported to Iran in large quantities and sold there at great profit.[101] Besides textile and wood work of a great variety, Golconda also exported many other commodities which were either raw or semi-processed goods catering to the needs of Iranian consumers or Iranian industries. Among the commodities supplied to the Iranian consumers, mention may be made of tobacco and pan which were exported to Iran where a good number of persons were adicted to these items.[102] The large demand for Golconda tobacco abroad led the Sultan to issue orders discouraging export of tobacco.[103]

Sec. 8 Golconda exports to Iran

There are many statements stressing that there was a regular trade between Golconda and Iran, yet no material data with complete sequence are available. One reason of this is that the agencies organising export trade were various and rather hostile to each other. Moreover Golconda or Iranian indigenous agencies never cared to maintain a record of their business transactions. Similarly the role of many private European agencies has also been left unrecorded. Data partially bearing evidence to the volume of business particularly about the export trade of Golconda with Iran are embeded in the enormous records of the English East India Company and the Dutch factories. According to a Dutch estimate of 1062/1652 there was an annual traffic of hundred thousand florins from coromandel to Iran.[104] More elaborate data stretched over a score of years establish the truth. Between 1055 to 1096/ 1646 to 1684 the value of the cargo exported from Golconda to Iran with its ratio to the total export trade of Golconda is furnished below in terms of Florins.[105]

Golconda export to Iran
1055/1646 - 1096/1684

Year	Total export from Coromandel (value in Florins)	Coromandel export to Iran (value in Florins)	Ratio
	(A Florin = a Sicca Rupee)		
1646	1846709	117744	2:31
1647	1444253	137592	2:21

1648	1449180	49429	2:59
1649	1948319	57692	1:36
1650	1733108	176928	1:10
1651	1781942	91698	1:19
1652	2245680	147173	1:15
1653	1567597	32035	1:49
1654	1383663	45598	1:30
1655	1616524	41944	1:39
1656	1288065	118649	2:21
1659	1680333	157598	3:32
1664	2570474	-	
1665	2681007	154909	1:17
1666	2654026	63341	1:42
1668	2120131	153331	1:14
1671	1789960	75045	1:14
1672	2299999	125172	1:18
1673	1495905	300000	1:5
1676	1784084	116037	3:46
1677	631340	114334	2:11
1680	2319941	80918	1:29
1683	2863787	116321	1:25
1684	3407927	106049	1:32[106]

The above statistics reveals one aspect namely the volume of the export trade of Golconda with Iran. It is interesting that the actual capital potential supplied by Iran

was larger than the capital value of goods she received from Golconda. In other words Iran had been supplying surplus capital to Golconda which was mainly on account of the Dutch and the English factors' capacity to organise business in various regions of Indian Ocean. The surplus capital exceeded by four or five times from the average which may be seen from a comparative cross section tabulated below.

Year	Capital supplied by Iran (value in Florins)	Value of goods exported by Golconda to Iran (value in Florins)	Surplus Capital	Ratio
1646	384569	117744	266825	3:1
1647	538048	137592	400456	4:1
1648	492569	49429	443140	10:1
1654	309305	45598	303707	7:1
1656	200000	118649	81351[107]	2:1
			Total	26:5
			average	5:1

The surplus capital obtained from Iran and initially invested in Golconda was diverted in the form of Golconda goods first to the various regions of Eastern Archipelago from where other commodities required by Iran could be acquired. In that way Iran served a powerful financing agency supplying capital to the organisers of South East Asian bazar. It is for the same reason the commercial ships leaving Coromandel

for Iran were sailing through Batavia, Achin and Queda.[108] There are instances when apart from surplus capital so supplied to Golconda, considerable capital potential was exported by Iran to Golconda regardless of any return export by the latter. The following data afford a cross section of such capital supply of Iran to Golconda when Golconda did not export anything to Iran.

Year	Capital (in Florins) supplied from Iran to Coromandel	Goods exported from Golconda to Iran
1657	588135	-
1658	628627	-
1660	616947	-
1661	519060	-
1664	500000	-
1669	13545[109]	

This clearly shows that Golconda-Iran commercial relations were not mere bilateral. Golconda had been serving a commercial bridge to the import trade of Iran with the farther regions of the Indian Ocean and was reinforcing the Iranian capital exported to the East beyond Golconda. So Golconda occupied a key position in the Iranian foreign trade carried in the East. No doubt at the same time Iran occupied a key position in the Westward trade of Coromandel.

Sec. 9 Commercial Taxes

Foreign merchants in Golconda had to pay certain taxes. Such commercial taxes could be categorised firstly as informal and formal and secondly as direct and indirect.

The nobles and dallāls (both native and Iranian) who controlled the bazars levied many an informal tax. The Dutch factor Schorer and other foreign merchants give interesting details about some of these informal taxes.[110] Schorer specifically records that inspite of the payment of formal taxes in compliance with formal agreement with the king of Golconda, alien merchants had to present various gifts to the harbour master (Shāhbander) and other men in authority. That was all done to 'secure friendship' especially with the governor without which business could scarcely be carried.[111] The middleman (dallāl) of Golconda was an informal partner in the organisation of business by Europeans and others on the Coromandel coast. They had been charging their fee for such cooperation as providing skilled labour such as chint printers or providing unskilled labour even by kidnapping juvenilia for slaves and similar other transactions.[112] Another important agency imposing informal taxes were the money-changers who were exchanging money at higher rates though officially all foreign coins were to be exchanged in Golconda at their mettalic value.[113] It is interesting that according to the English and European factors the Iranian merchants in Golconda

constituted a privileged class and they were in good relations with the administrative authorities and could therefore avoid most of such informal taxes. But such statements are quite debatable.[114]

The formal commercial tax was mainly categorised as Zakwāt which was collected at different places at different rates on different commodities under royal edicts. So it formed a regular source of state revenue. The types of Zakwāt were many and could be classified in many series. Nevertheless Zakwāt was imposed on all the import and export goods at flat rates at the harbour. A sort of Zakwāt was also collected on the commodities sold in the inland bazar of Golconda. Zakwāt or commercial tax was generally assessed from the nature and the quantum of goods.[115] In some cases it was assessed based on the number of workmen employed especially in the case of diamond mining.[116]

All the formal taxes were direct for the producer but their incidence, though indirect, was virtually on the consumer. The exhorbitant rates of interest, the high rates of exchange of currencies and the freight duty all carried to enhance the price level. No doubt the liberty to divert the entire incidence of tax to the consumer was not absolute and it was affected by the consumer's role in the bazar who on occasions refused to purchase commodities for years together. It was under this mechanism of demand and supply the incidence

of taxes on the producers and consumers was divided in uncertain proportions.

There are instances that a rise in taxes created a slump in the bazar and royal ordinances had to be issued to waive or writing off the Zakwāt[117] which could lower down the prices encouraging a rapid consumption and an active bazar

In addition to the usual taxes including tolls and octroi, duties were to be paid at the rate of 4% (viz., 2% on entering and 2% on leaving) on the capital value of all consignments contained in a ship. Besides there were anchorage charges.[118]

Sec. 10 Abatements

There are instances of allowing discounts and abatements, on Golconda merchandise of export ranging from 7½% to 26% on bulk purchases especially of textiles.[119] It is difficult to pronounce as to whether abatement was allowed at all times and on all goods as a routine practice, yet it is certain that the practice was governed by certain conditions prevalent in the bazar. One of the main factor was competition. The merchants of Masūlīpatam tended to offer attractive discounts to steady their sale in competition with the goods of Petapoli. Abatements were allowed in cases of faulty goods as the practice of packing and storage was not always satisfactory and the goods were checked in details by the purchasers.[120]

It was also necessitated on account of the role of brokers in the bazar who were an efficient agents for prompting bulk disposals of Indian merchandise especially to the overseas merchants.[121]

Sec. 11 Import of expert labour and specialised material

The commercio-economic aspect of relations implicated the traffic of expert labour which in turn was responsible for the further development of such relations. Among the categories of expert labour, the architects, the engineers, and artisans[122] may be especially mentioned as they raised an enormous volume of building constructions of varied patterns and myriad purposes scattered all over the kingdom of Golconda. No doubt Golconda architecture was a blending of Indo-Persian aspects of the technique and patterns of the art. The pattern tended more towards Iran and structure more towards Iran and structure more towards the Deccan. Similarly the Iranian patterns could not be adopted in Golconda without importing some of the construction material as well. The details of the ingredients compounded with most of the construction material normally mixed with lime can be sorted out only through the process of a chemical analysis which may further reveal Iranian techniques if not definitely Iranian substances. Nevertheless in the architectural pattern of Golconda, Iranian material is distinctly seen in its Kāshī Kārī worked on the exterior and its colourful enamels used in the baroque of the

interior. The Kāshī work and enamel work appear in Golconda throughout the period of the dynastic rule. The vastness of its employment may be judged from the sizes and location of various buildings in Hyderabad, Srikākulam (Sicācole), Masūlipatam and other places. The fort of Golconda and the Qūṭb Shāhī tombs were thoroughly clad from top to the basement with Kāshī tiles. Similarly the interior of these edifices were decorated with enamelled rococo. The colours used in Golconda rococo were the enamels of variable tints and shade with an unusual glow and durability.

The Kāshī tiles and its allied material and the enamels for rococo, despite being enormous, are not expected to have been manufactured in Golconda. This material was imported from Iran as it was manufactured there.[123] Not only for the reason that there is no evidence of such manufacture in Golconda but also in view of the scope of their demand. Buildings with the Kāshī exterior and an interior with baroque were either the palaces of the kings and nobles or religious buildings and do not seem to have been constructed by general public so as to develop it into a mass scale civil engineering. It was occasioned by the fancies of the kings and the nobles. The material was therefore imported from Iran according to the occasion. There is no Chihal Situn in Golconda but the colours of Chihal Situn may be seen in the vestiges of its buildings.[124]

The other aspect of such imports, as mentioned above was the inflow of architects civil engineers and allied artisans. No doubt there had been indigenous and Deccani technicians too in Golconda of which Ḥusain Shah Walī set a nice example.[125] However the inflow of architects from Iraq (ʿIrāq-i-ʿAjam), and other parts of Iran to Golconda is on record. The master inscriptions worked out in various styles of Persian and Arabic script owe to a good number of expert calligraphers and inscribes of Iran. Among such inscribers the names of Jalāl-u'ddīn al Shīrāzi, Ḥusayn Shīrāzī, Mīr ʿAlī, Ismaʿīl binʿArab Shīrāzī, Luṭfullah Tabrizī and Bābā Khan may be mentioned.[126]

Similarly the industry of books and book binding required both men and material which were imported from Iran if not on a large scale at least in sufficient quantities for training local manufacturers and setting up the industry in Golconda.[127]

The Qūṭb Shahs encouraged Greco-Persian medicinal system which made great strides in Golconda. There had been constant inflow of eminent physicians from Iran and so Iranian medicine became an important import commodity of the foreign trade of Golconda.[128]

Sec. 12 Slavery and Slave Trade

Slavery was an accepted phase of social life in the

16th and 17th century and there was a brisk market for slaves both in Golconda and Iran. We find in Golconda the royal household and the aristocracy had not only Indian slaves but also slaves from overseas, Turkman, Abyssinians and Georgians etc. Some of these slaves had an honoured place in the master's household.[129] There are instances of Iranians purchasing Parsi, Hindu (Jentews), Banjāras and other slaves in India and shifting them to Iran.[130] It is peculiar enough Iranian sources are generally silent about Indian settlements in various parts of Iran. Nevertheless there had been a considerable traffic of slaves as a commercial commodity between the two. Famines and other natural hazards encouraged slave trade in Golconda where hunger led children to be sold for four to five Pagodas each whereas in good days their price rose to twelve and fourteen Pagodas per slave.[131] A study of the traffic of slaves in the 16th and 17th century Asian bazars, reveals that the traffic more steadily tended from West to East than vice versa. The export of slaves does not seem to have been ever patronised by the Government.

On occasions slave trade was found more profitable than trade on cloth specially by the Dutch.[132] The slaves of Turk and Abyssinian origin brought to Golconda were good and brave soldiers. They find honourable mention in Persian chronicles. They had also a marginal place in the grand Majlis of Golconda.[133]

Sec. 13 The Structure of Iranian Bazar

Data regarding the structure of Iranian bazar is rather scanty. Nevertheless for the purpose of her export trade overseas to Golconda it may be asserted that the Iranian export market was basically industrial in its character. Ṣafavī Iran had many industries, the history of almost each of which went back even to the Pre Islamic times. The industrial organisations were mostly hereditary, grown and continued in characteristic feudal society. The families of the manufacturers had attained a universal reputation for their artistic achievements and had been producing to cater to the needs of the country as well as a very vast Eastern and Western bazar abroad. Her industrial organisations do not seem to have been so deeply penetrated by the Europeans and the English as it had been done by them in Coromandel. Iranian industries were exceedingly localized and sheltered by land lords, fed by the raw commodity available in close proximity. However there had been a few industries for which some raw material was imported from other countries as Iron and dye-stuff was imported from Golconda. Iran had to import raw materials for those of her industries which had to supply to a large scale demand even within country such as the industry of ordnance and cotton textiles. Apart from her large scale, the localised industries were producing highly specialised luxury articles like carpets, enamelled pottery, embroidered shawls, brocades, kashi tiles, books,

paintings and medicine etc. There had been hardly any market in the contemporary world which was so dominated by arts and artists and produced such highly refined and artistic industrial goods as to challenge the taste of a very competently rich consumers all over the world. The painters, the designers, the calligraphers, the engravers, artists and architects had a leading role in almost every industry. Iranian shops displaying Iranian industrial products like textiles, ceramics, glass, metal work, specimen of exquisite, jild-sāzī (book binding) were veritable art gallaries. Stray specimens of the varieties of articles of art are serving even today as important museum pieces throughout the world.

Besides specialised industrial goods Iran maintained a very steady market of cash species and their exchange. The peculiar geographical location of Iran turned her into a great centre of exchanging contemporary cash species of the East and West. In the particular context of the trade relations between Golconda and Iran while the former was essentially a producer's bazar for the entire contemporary commercial Society, the latter was the bazar of cash species catering finances to the entrepreneurs of maritime traffic specially between Persian Gulf and the Eastern Archipelago.[134]

Golconda does not appear to have ever supplied capital to the bazar of Iran whereas there are instances the other way round. Moreover the volume of merchandise exported from Iran

to Golconda was surprisingly small which was probably on account of the nature of export goods. Golconda export goods were mostly responding to the demand of necessities for all classes of Iranian Society, while the goods exported from Iran to Golconda chiefly served the requirements of the nobles. Therefore the size and price of the commercial exchange between the two was hardly equal and mutually equibalanced. The exquisite luxury goods of Iran normally required by the nobility and the privileged classes generally served to augment her capital investment in the foreign trade or a medium of exchanging cash species and so helping an international barter.[135]

The capital procured from Iran augmented export trade of Golconda but not necessarily with Iran. From the records of the Dutch and the English Factories it becomes evident that the investment of Iranian capital in Golconda was not aimed at a return business. Its object was to enhance the capital potential by an initial investment in the producers' bazar of Golconda from where they were able to procure a handsome consignment which was in steady demand in the regions of Indian Ocean, the middle East and Europe.

Sec. 14 Export Commodities of Iran

(a) Carpet Industry: The fabulous carpet industry of Iran had a long history going back to the 6th century or even earlier and it flourished during the region of the

Safavis also.[136] The varieties of Qālīn (Carpet) has been variably classified by the manufacturers and critics of this art. It formed an important article of the export trade of Iran which was in demand by the sultans and the nobility of Golconda. The export agencies were both indigenous and European. The luxurious articles were an effective instrument for augmenting the capital potential of the Dutch and the English factors who could purchase carpets on their route by a little diversion to the Persian Gulf, sell them off in the bazar of Malabar and Coromandel or even the farther inland to the nobility of Bījāpūr and Golconda and then amass a handsome capital for investing in the export trade of Golconda as discussed earlier.

(b) Metallic industry: Metallic industry too had a classical origin which developed a peculiar nationalised character under Safavis. Metals like silver, gold, copper, lead and their enamels were used for manufacturing utensils, boxes, jewellery and allied articles which represented exceptional artistry wrought by engraving, embossing, moulding, inlaying and similar other devices.

The most significant metallic industry was that of ordnance. The Ṣafavī Iran produced a good variety of weapons made of steel which were decorated with almost all such artistic devices as one could find in jewellery, utensils or even books.[137] During the eleventh century Hijra

one Āsādullah Isfahānī (Tabrīzī?) attained a high reputation as an expert in manufacturing ordnance.[138]

(c) Textile Industry: The textile industry of Ṣafavī Iran had a classical history; it made strides in manufacturing fabrics of exquisite texture and wonderful patterns. Most of the patterned cloth bore woven designs and very few of them were printed. The textile stuff was mainly silk and wool; of course cotton too was there. The most important of the textiles were Satin (Āṭlas), Velvet (Makhmal), Kattan (lenin), Brocade (zarbaft), and Silk (Ābrīsham). The main centres of such textile industry were Tabrīz, Herāt, Isfahān, Kāshān, Rasht, Mashhad, Qūm, Sāva, Sūlṭania, Ārdestān and Sherwān. Rasht was famous for silk industry and Tabrīz for patterned textiles. Brocading was adopted with variable intensity in almost all sorts of textiles mentioned here.

Iranian textile industry during the Ṣafavī period may not be assessed from the volume of production as it afforded highly artistic quality production. The Ṣafavī textiles preserved in Iranian museums and other institutions manifest elaborate artistic skill and labour which can itself be classed as a Iranian textile rococo. The pieces of Ṣafavī textiles are by no means less artistic and expressive than the Ṣafavī paintings.[139] In many cases the name of the artist too, was printed or wrought on the texture of the cloth. The

industry ran in collaboration with the pattern designers or Naqqāsh who were also contributing to painting, woodwork, metallic industry, decoration of ordnance, architecture, book binding and carpet industries.[140]

(d) Ceramics: The Iranian Ceramic industries can be classified into pottery (zurūf) and the tile industry (kār-i-khazaf) or (kār-i-kāshī). The pottery was an art which the Iranians learnt and borrowed from Chinese and oriented ceramic patterns according to their own taste. During the Ṣafavī period the artistic pattern of that industry too imbibed an influence of the religio-political mind of the society.

The manufacturing coloured tiles of Iran too was an ancient industry, the output of which was immensely exported to Golconda. It was a branch of ceramics glazed with colourful enamels processed and mixed with powder extracted from inner crust of shells. Those tiles were used to cover the exterior of buildings and afforded an infinite scope of decorative pattern and had many architectural merits. Iranian tiles were of various kinds as regards their substance and scope of patterns. Kāshān was the biggest centre of the industry while the other centres were Sāva, Sūlṭānābad, Isfahān and Daghistān. Each of the centre had its own industrial peculiarity.[141]

There is no recorded data regarding the export of khazaf to Golconda but the Golconda fort and many other huge buildings of Golconda still have patches of Iranian tiles and suggest the enormousness of the export of that commodity which Iran made over to Golconda. Since the data regarding the trunk route traffic are extremely thin, it is presumed that Iranian tiles, the production centre of which were mostly located in the North were carried to the Deccan through the trunk routes laden on camels, mules and horses accompanied with architectural artisans.

(e) Ṣaḥḥāfī(the industry of books and book binding): Paper was a developed industry by the time of Ṣafavīs. Books were recorded mostly on paper and also on parchment (pustak). There is no doubt that the task of translating important Arabic books and producing religious literature in Persian was aimed at popularising Ṣafavī Shiism. Therefore books were produced on an enormous scale and the industry of books and binding made good progress during the 16th and 17th centuries. That industry too developed in collaboration with calligraphers and the pattern designers (Naqqāsh). The libraries of Golconda were having enormous collections of books manufactured and bound in Iran. There are instances when the Mughal princes requisitioned such books from Quṭb Shāhī library. From the industrial point of view the books manufactured in Ṣafavī Iran were a costly commodity. In view of their masterful calligraphy, marginal patterns, the quality of their ink and paper,

the fine leather material of binding and enormous variety of rococo wrought in gold and other mineral colours.[142]

Glass Industry: References to the glass industry of Iran can be noticed in the writings of the classical Greek Historians like Aristophane. Iranians knew the arts of moulding glass as well as cutting flint glass (Billōr). Glass cutting industry started developing from the 10th and 11th centuries. Though compared with other industries, glass industry was somewhat lagging behind especially in respect of its artistic accomplishment, yet its progress was by no means negligible during the Ṣafavī reign. Glass utensils were decorated artistically either by colourful paintings or by cutting or by both. The important centres of glass industry in the Ṣafavī Iran were Shīrāz, Hamadān, Nīshāpūr, Rey and Sāva.[143]

Apart from these major, there had been many minor or allied industries which added to the volume of the export trade of Iran. Besides industrial goods precious metals like silver and pearls, also horses and fruits were in a constant demand in Golconda and were exported from Iran.[144]

Sec. 15 Weights and Measures in Iran

Iranian practice tended more towards weighing commercial commodities than measuring. There had been various systems of weights and measures indigenous and alien old and new in vogue in Ṣafavī Iran. The standards for bulk measurements of heavy

commodities were different from those of weighing precious metals and medicinal ingredients.

General commodities like food grains, metals, wood, spices and even liquids were sold by weight.[145] The lowest unit of heavy weight was a Misqāl and the next immediate higher unit was a Mān (Maund) which represented different standards from place to place in the country. The predominant units in vogue may be tabulated here.[146]

1 Misqāl	=	73 grains or 1/6 ozs avoirdupois[147]	=	4.703 grammes
120 Misqāl	=	1 Khark Mān = 1 lb 4 ozs	=	566.991 grammes
5 Khark Mān or 600 Misqāl	=	1 Tabrīzī Mān = 6 lbs 4 ozs	=	2 Kg 834.955 grammes
2 Tabrīzī Mān or 1200 Misqāl	=	1 Shāhī Mān = 12 lbs 8 ozs	=	5 Kg 669.910 grammes

Measures of length in Iran

In Iran the Cubits and Gaz used for carpets were different from those used for measuring cloth; and may be tabulated as below.

A.	Gaz for cloth	=	37.5 inches
	Cubit for cloth also called King's cubid	=	36 inches[148]
B.	Gaz for carpet silk and fine stuff	=	27 inches
	Cubits for carpets etc.	=	18.25 inches

Some of the pieces of textiles and carpets[149] were also counted in terms of pairs (Jūft).

Sec. 16 Export Trade of Iran

Iran carried a world wide export trade affecting the cultural and economic life of many countries. The coastal market of Iran was sufficiently open and accessible to merchants of different nations which rendered it into biggest centre of monetary exchange in Asia. European factors too played a leading part in organising her external trade and maintained some record of their accounts.[150] They had been taking interest in the export trade of Iran chiefly with the object of procuring capital. Generally the Iranian specialised goods, pearls, silver and cash species were all the components of their capital potential diverted to the South East Asian market. A cross section from Dutch sources may show the capital value (in terms of Florins) of Iranian export to Golconda in the course of about a quarter of centure from 1055/1646 to 1080/1669 together with its ratio in relation to the total capital imported by Golconda from various regions.

Year	Capital supplied to Golconda by Iran (in Florins)	Total capital supplied to Golconda by Iran and other regions (in Florins)	Ratio of Iranian Capital in relation to the total Capital
1646	384569	1876667	1:5
1647	538048	1856974	1:3

1648	492569	2194080	1:3
1654	309305	2845500	1:10
1656	200000	1200000	1:6
1657	588135	1921319	1:3
1658	628072	2358849	1:4
1659	139629	2476864	1:18
1660	616947	1745122	2:5
1661	519060	1443839	1:3
1664	500000	1450073	1:3
1669	13545	1823154	1:130
1676	160879	1847471	1:11[151]

The above statistics is restricted to the activity of the single Dutch establishment named Jan Company. It also shows intervals in commercial activities, for the reason that the export of capital from Iran was held up during the times of war as in the years 1058/1649 to 1064/1653 and 1075/1665 to 1079/1668.[152] However in times of peace, capital was exported from Iran which constituted from a minimum of 1:18 to 2:5 of the total capital imported by Golconda and the prevalent average ratio was 1:3.

Sec. 17 Special Purchases

The Indian and European merchants were maintaining the tone of traffic between the two lands. Yet there had been occasions when those merchants or agents had been making special

purchases for the sultans or the nobles under special orders. The table below may show some instances of such purchases during the reign of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah

Year	Name of the commercial agent	Amount for purchases	Commodities required
1049/1639	Mīr Tājuʾddīn Qūmī	4000 Hūns	Miscellaneous articles
-do-	Shah Ḥasan Riyāẓ	4000 Hūns	-do-
-do-	Mirzā Muḥammad Mashhadī	2000 Tōmāns	-do-
-do-	Khwāja ʿAbdul ʿAlī Ārdestānī		-do-[153]
1053 A.H/ 1642 A.D.	Mūhammad Ṣadiq and Ṭāhir		1) Horses 2) Textiles
-do-	-do-	b) 500000 Hūns	Textiles[154]
1067/1656 A.D.	Mūḥammad Ṣābir	a) 500 Hūns	Qalam Kār of Shīrāz
		b) 12000 Qirans[155]	medicine

Iranian merchants commanded respect in the courts of Golconda and Iran. They had been, sometimes, carrying political messages and court news as Ḥājī Qambar ʿAlī conveyed the news of the death of Mūḥammad Qūṭb Shah to Shah ʿAbbās I.[156]

There had been occasions when insolvent Iranian businessmen like Mīr Mʿoin-u'ddīn Mūḥammad Shīrāzī were helped by Golconda with the grant of a subsistence allowance.[157] Sometimes the Shah himself took personal interest in an

Iranian merchant who found it difficult to recover his dues in the Golconda Market. We have the case of Shah ʿAbbās II sending a letter with Ḥakīm-ul-Mūlk, the Quṭb Shāhī envoy, to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah recommending the case of an Iranian merchant named Khwāja Muḥammad Ibrāhīm son of Ḥāji Muḥammad Sultan who was feeling it difficult to recover certain amounts payable to him by the merchants of Golconda. The Shah desired ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah to help him in the recovery.[158]

References and Notes

1 As a matter of fact no serious effort has fo far been made for writing a specialised economic history either of Iran or of Golconda. The casual observations entailed in elaborate and comprehensive histories of these regions hardly help to present a synthesized account. Nevertheless my friend Joseph J. Brennig has taken up a project "The State and Trade in the Seventeenth Century Golconda" under the auspices of the university of Wisconsin U.S.A. The results of his study are awaited while the present observations on the commercio-economic contacts of Golconda and Iran are being submitted.

2 Master I 36, 243; II 36, 236, 283

3 Relations 63. The industry was localised at Narsāpūr Peta as nature afforded there all necessary raw material; Master II 36.

4 Relations 36; Bowrey 103-5 and also photo plate VIII; Purchas I 308.

5 Wilson A.T. 108

6 Purchas II 1731

7 For details on the English and Portugal rivalry see Hunter I ch. VIII and for the reliance of Qūtb Shahs on the English see ch II, Sec. 37.

8 Ḥadīqah 526

9 Ibid 247-8

10 Danvers I 299; Relations 61

11 A.A.A. 689-692; Ḥadīqah 225; Hunter I, 329

12 Rāychaudhurī 87

13 Ibid 88, 133

14 Master I 214; II 363

15 Master I 139-140

16 Ibid 181, 184, 198; E.F.I. 174

17 The maritime traffic between Golconda and Iran was not always uniform. The Dutch and the English data show a heavy traffic during some years and no traffic during other years.

18 Relations 64, 65

19 Master II 100, 390

20 Rāychaudhurī 133

21 According to Yule and Burnell the word Hūn was perhaps derived from the Kanarese word Huno meaning Gold (Hobson Jobson). There had been Hūns of several denominations current in the Deccan as the Hūn of Deva Raya weighing from 26.1 to 52.9 grains; Hūn of Sivā Rāyā weighing from 26.1 to 53.03 grains; Hūn of Tirimoli (Tirūmālā) weighing from 25.7 to 26 grains and

the Hūn of Harī Harī weighing from 5.7 to 26.7 grains. Hūns weighing from 25 to 26 grains or so can be taken as half Hūns. In addition to these Hūns there were many other Hūns like Jutor, Mailāpuri, Nellorī, Ādhonī, Dharwār, ʿAmbarshāhī, Tubakī, Chaul and Portuguesī etc. see S.W.D. 128-136.

22 This categorisation is based on the masterly discussions of Moreland on Golconda currency (Relations 91-93; also Moreland 183).

23 The covenant (Āḥad Nāmah) executed by Shah Jahan in favour of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah equates the amount of peshkash in terms of Hūn Sivā Rāyā (Ṭalqānī No.67).

24 The word Pagoda, is seen in contemporary records in three senses: (i) a temple, (ii) an idol and (iii) a coin or a Hūn. It is in the last sense the term is used in this chapter. For a detailed discussion on the term see Hobson-Jobson and also Appadorai II 709-711.

25 Hūn Sivā Rāyā was struck by Sadāsivā Rāyā the Rājah of Vijayānagar who ruled from 1543-1576 A.D. It may not be expected that old Pagodas or Hūns minted during his times should be available with such enormousness as to be afforded for actual exchange. For further details of Hūn Sivā Rāyā see Smith, T: Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museums I 324 plate XXXI; Elliot, W: The Coins of Southern India 152 fig 100; Bidyabinod I Serial Nos. 1, 5, Register Nos. 20771, 21481, p 96; S.W.D. 7, 34, 75, 132-3.

26 For the value of Āshrafī see Ḥabīb 380-2, 384-7, S.W.D. 32; for a discussion on its notices by Europeans and its value in exchange see the words Āshrafēe, Xerafine and Mohur in Hobson-Jobson. In the Mughal pacts and agreements with Golconda and monetary references in correspondence with Iran the term of reference is always Rupee and not Ashrafi.

27 For an interesting history of a Rupee see Hobson-Jobson; also see Ḥabīb 380-394; 398.

28 See Sec. 29 in the ch. II. The Mughal gold and silver coins Dirhams and Dīnārs as mentioned in the covenant (Ṭālqānī No. 67) were actually the Āshrafīs and Rupees.

29 There are several evidences of the Quṭb Shahs farming out administration and commerce. (Relations 11, 32, 54, 55, 57, 81, 82; S.W.D.17)

30 Tavernier II 71; E.F.I. XII 327, I p 262, IV 277; Relations 92, 93.

31 For the origin of the word Fanam and its various other forms see Hobson Jobson; for its minting see Master I 72, 213; for its value Ibid 254, 277 and II 254, Fryer I 106, 139, 143, 149; Bowrey 1, 4, 42 n, 114, 115, 200 n; for Morelands discussion see Relations, 61, 93-94 also see Appadorai II 713-715; and also Joshī (Coins).

32 Relations 93-94; Bowrey 114; and also Joshi (Coins).

33 Bowrey 114; Fryer II p 132 this was not a constant rate. For fluctuations in the exchange rates of Pagodas or Hūns and Fanams see notices contained in the references cited in f.n. 31 above.

34 Navel according to Moreland was the coin which had been referred to as 'cash' by English merchants. (Relations 55, 61, 94-95). 'Cash' according to Hobson-Jobson included Sundry Coins; also see P.M. Joshī (Coins).

35 Regarding Tar see Tara in Hobson-Jobson; Relations: Ibid; Bowrey 281; Fryer I 143, 149; see also Moreland's observations (Relations 55, 94, 95) and Āppadoraī 38, 717.

36 Āppadoraī I, 38, II, 798-806; Moreland's discussion (Relations 95); Elliot 59; and also P.M.Joshi (Coins).

37 For a detailed introduction to the copper coins of Golconda see ʿAbdul Walī: Qūṭb Shāhī Coins; Moreland's discussion (Relations 94) and also Joshī (Coins).

38 Hobson-Jobson, Fryer II p 139; III pp 152-3; 200; Master I pp 176-8, II p 387; Mufīdī informs about Tōmāns with its exchange value either in terms of Rupees or Hūns. According to him a Tūmān was equal to ten Hūns (p 90) or thirty rupees (p 169), during the times of his visit to Golconda. Though he has made a reference in relation to the times of Mīr Jumla Muḥammad Āmīn who was in Golconda during the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Qūṭb Shah yet the exchange value given by Mufīdī should be

based on his personal knowledge as he visited Golconda in the year 1084/1673. He also mentioned various types of Tomans as Tūmān-i-Tabrīzī, Tumān-i-Shāhī, Tumān-i-Kapkī etc.

39 Fryer II 152

40 Ibid

41 Thevenot 25-6; Fryer Ibid; Bowrey 114; Master I 184, 387; its value II 61 n, 229 n, 258, 290, 291; Mufīdī 205. 1 ʿAbbāsī = 15 dīnārs; later the rate changed for 1 ʿAbbāsī = 45 dinars due to the facts of the merchants purchasing textiles at Yazd by making payments in terms of ʿAbbāsī. The rise in the price of ʿAbbāsī was on account of the manipulations of Ḥājī Muḥammad Bāqir Beg, Shah ʿAbbās II's Vizir at Jehram. The said vizir melted the coins and terminated the money-changers,(shroffs) early in the year 1078/1667 Mufidi 204-5.

42 Professor Sherwānī (Qūṭb Shah p 572) has levelled a criticism against Dr. Joshi saying, "Dr.Joshi is not correct when he says that the 'Maḥmūdī' was a Persian coin; it was in fact a coin which was struck in Gujarāt". It may be pointed out that Dr. Joshi is not unaware of the fact that Maḥmūdī was a coin of Gujarat, but it was adopted in Iran at such a large scale as if it was indigenous Irani currency. For details see Fryer II 139, III 151-3; S.W.D. 35; Thevenot 26, 290 n 17; Ḥabib 383-4; also see Borgomale.

Professor Sherwānī has given some notices of the value of 'Maḥmūdī' during the 18th century. For

the pound value of 'Maḥmūdi' during the 17th century see further discussion in Sec. 4.

43 Fryer II 139, III 152-3

44 Fryer II 153

45 Tuzuk 199-200

46 Mufīdī 91, 169

47 Ṭālqānī No. 1

48 This Hūn value of Tomān has been worked out with the help of its pound value given by Fryer III 152.

49 Manucci II 418. This is an only instance of gold brought by Europeans in huge quantity. That was a part of their capital which they invested throughout South East Asia including Golconda.

50 All amounts made over by Golconda to Hindustan, Iran or European factories, were in terms of Pagodas, whereas the money imported or minted for Hindustan was Rupee and that imported from Iran and other European countries was consisting of Florins or Venetians (Rāychaudhurī 140; Manucci II 418).

51 T.Q.S. f 98(a); Briggs III 438

52 Rāychaudhurī 2

53 Persian Chronicles mention the names of Iranian and Golconda merchants who were assigned the high sounding titles of Malik u'ttujjār. It is

strange that mention of such merchants is generally found in the social context of affairs and particulars of the nature and volume of their trade were never recorded.

54 Rāychaudhurī 28

55 Hunter II 83

56 Ḥadīqah 251; Relations 64, 65

57 Relations 11, 32, 54, 55, 57, 81, 82, 92; Master II, 113; Rāychaudhurī 7, 144.

58 Master II, 155, 179-180; Bowrey 81 n 2, 83; E.F.I 1670-77 II, 134-135.

59 Relations 78, 82, Rāychaudhurī 12; Ḥadīqah 251.

60 See below Sec. 12

61 There is no mention of measures of capacity in international transactions.

62 For the weight of a Tola in Golconda see discussion on Tola below.

63 Āppadorai (Vol II, 784) confirms a Seer of 24 Tolā or 8 Pollam each Pollam to comprise 3 Tola from inscriptional sources. Nevertheless his equation with Troy weights is not subscribed by us.

64 The above weights are based on the information furnished by Schorer who visited Golconda in the year 1614 A.D. (Relations XXXVII, 52); Āppadorai (II p 784) also confirms.

Moreland held the data to be clearly authoritative and he tested them through various invoices as well as 'The Book of Weights of India' (Ibid 87, 88).

65 For the origin of the words Maund or Bahār and their variations see Hobson-Jobson.

66 Moreland is of the opinion that Littel was local misuse of the Arabic word Ritl. (Relations p 91) for further details see Relations 61, 91; Rāychaudhurī 223.

67 These weights have been discussed by Rāychaudhurī from Dutch sources (Ibid).

68 In the scale of heavy weights the value of a Tola in Golconda has been judged by Moreland (Relations 90) as either 175 or 182 grains (Dutch) which are equal to 191 and 199 grains avdp. respectively. But working out the value of lower denomination from the value of higher denomination of variable standards may not lead to a satisfactory clue. The basic units are not expected to change in reciprocity with the changes in higher denominations. Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin has equated some of the Golconda weights with Indian minute weights. A Tola according to Hodivala was about 185.5 grains avdp. which has been discussed and confirmed by Ḥabīb (367-8). The same has been taken as the basis of above discussions correlated with Mīr Mūmin's equation of a Ghungchī with 3.5 Jau.

69 Out of a series of about 50 units of minute weights Mīr Muḥammad Mūmīn tried to provide exact weights of at least twelve of them. For each unit he has quoted equivalents in alternate terms each based on an authority. Some of the important equivalents, in addition to those already given in table, shall be shown in respective foot notes. However the appendix of his dissertation presents variable standards of each unit. It may be noted that even the twelve units standardised by him do not proceed with happy equation. Indication of equivalents to the details of minute fractions, suggest that Mīr Mūmīn's system is not original and homogeneous as it represents artificially synthesised assorted units of heterogeneous systems. Since Mīr Mūmīn was a competent scholar and was in the know of contemporary standards and produced the results of his research at the instance of Muḥammad Quṭb Shah, there are reasons to take the treatise as an authority on the contemporary weights of Golconda and Iran.

Another contemporary work Mizān-u'ṭṭabaī' Quṭb Shāhī by Taqī-u'ddin Muḥammad bin Ṣadr u'ddin ʿAlī contains a chapter introducing about sixty units of minute weights. That work too does not furnish any satisfactory system as such.

70 It may be noted that the entire system is based on the smallest unit Jau or Ḥabbah (a gram) in Golconda whereas according to

Abul Fazl a Habbah was equal to 2 Jau and Jau was not a basic unit but comprised thousands of infinitesimally smaller unit called Zarrah or item (Ain Vol. I p 37). Nevertheless a Jau or Habbah was smaller than a Rati or Ghungchi or Surkh, the basis of Indian Weights, eight of which make one Masha. According to Mir Mumin a Ghungchi was equal to 3.5 Jau (Miqdariyah f 2(b); Ain I 16; Hobson-Jobson).

71 This unit was pronounced as Daniq in Arabic and as Danak or Dang or Danug in Persian and Perso-Indian dialects.

72 Same as Dirham in Arabic and Persian.

73 The weight of a Misqal was equal to sixty eight Habbah or Jau or 68 4/7 Jau. This denomination was more popularly used in Iran. According to Fryer 6 Miscolle (Misqal) were equal to one ounce. (Fryer III 151). For various calculations of Misqal see Hobson-Jobson p 568.

74 This is second instance when Mir Muhammad Mumin has equated a unit of Perso-Arabic weight with a unit of Indian weight. The weight of a Tola in Golconda is a subject of much controversy.

Mir Muhammad Mumin has equated Istar with 252 Jau or 5 Dirhams and 3 Qirat or 3.5 Misqal and 3 Qirat or a Tola. In view of the Rati value of Jau, i.e. 3.5 Jau = 1 Rati this Tola should be of 9 Mashas only instead of 12 Mashas; see f.n. 70 above.

75 Also pronounced as Wāqiya. It has been equated with 1 2/3 Istar or 510 Jau or 10 5/7 (5/8 ?) Dirhams. A Ratl had been further equated with 90 Misqāls or 127 4/7 Dirhams which is equal to 24 2/7 Istar or Tolas.

76 This is a characteristic Maund of minute weights namely to weigh precious metals and drugs. It should not be confused with heavy Maunds of Iran or Golconda.

77 For the value of Surkhs see f.n. No. 70 above. The invoices of gift articles have been mentioned in political and diplomatic correspondence, Ṭālqānī No.1. An invoice of ʿĀdil Shāhī Peshkash submitted to Āurangzeb describes the weights of diamonds and other precious stones in terms of Surkhs which establishes the use of minor weights in Inter-Statal transactions. S.W.D. 23, 24.

78 A cubit is a word of obscure origin and probably an Indo-Portuguese corruption of the Portuguese word Covado, a cubit or ell. See 'Covid' in Hobson-Jobson. In the contemporary Traveller's accounts the word has been spelt in many ways as Covad, Cobde, Cobdee, Coveld (Hobson-Jobson); Cubido, Cobidee (Relations 88). There were some other similar forms also.

79 The Cubit of Golconda also bore an indigenous name as hast or hath a measure of length 'from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger' (see Haut in Hobson-Jobson). That natural unit was based on a minor system as 8 Jau (barly corn)= 1 angul (breadth of a finger)

24 angul or 2 span = 1 hath or cubit
2 hath = 1 Gaz

Those natural units were in vogue throughout India. See Covid, haut and gaz in Hobson-Jobson; Bowrey p 218; also see Sec. 15 below.

80 Relations 88; Master I 272, II 167, 376.

81 Master op.cit

82 Master 144; Bowrey 71; Joshi (Textile).

83 Bowrey 71; Relations 80 n 2; E.F.I. 1630-33, 289; 1634-36, 48, 139-40; 1637-41, 40, 42, 103-104; Joshi (Textile).

84 Bowrey 71

85 Relations 52, 64 n; 64; Bowrey p 285 n 5; Rāychaudhurī 169.

86 Rāychaudhurī 170

87 Relations 64

88 Census A.P. map No. 6

89 Relations 34, 37, 59, 61; Master I 253, II 113; Rāychaudhurī 174.

90 Relations, 34; for value of Littel see sanction 6(a) above.

91 It may be noted that the Iranian Chief of ordnance Āsadullah Kark Yarāq visited Golconda in the year 1046/1637. See ch. II Sec. 31.

92 Relations 79; Raychaudhuri 163-4, 174

93 Some of the important indigo producing places were Kondaipally, Masulipatam, Nagalawancha, Sandrapatla, Game, Gelupondy (Jalipudi) Ecour (Ellore). Relations 79; Raychaudhuri 10, 163-164 for Chey roots see Relations 35, 54, 55, 77, 80; for yellow see Relations 54 n 2.

94 Raychaudhuri 163-4.

95 For the value of Bahar see Sec. 6(a)

96 Raychaudhuri 163-4

97 Ibid

98 Ibid; Relations 61

99 Raychaudhuri 163-4

100 A vast diamondiferous strata stretched in Golconda where important gem fields (Khani or Ganni) had been discovered even during the earlier medieval ages. Regarding the period of Qutb Shahs there are notices of diamond mines at the valley of Godavari the lower Krishna valley, The Sarkar of Guntur, Vijayawada, Golapally, Malavelly, Perthial, Ustapally, (between Vijayawada and Hyderabad), Kollur, Kanuparti, (on the left bank of Pennar) Cuddapah, which was referred to as Kan-i-Almas in Qutb Shahi documents and Gooty. For details about diamonds and diamond mining in Golconda see Relations XVIII, 30 n, 38; Master II 128 n, 172-4, 196 also see Shukla, M.S.: A History of Gem Industry in Ancient and Medieval India (Part I - South India); S.W.D. 1-20.

101 Relations 63

102 Bowrey 30 n 2, 97, 305 n 1, 303

103 Bowrey 107

104 Raychaudhuri 134

105 1 Florin = 1 Sicca Rupee = Sh 2 - d 3½

The value of a Florin has been indicated by Rāychaudhuri as:

1 Riyal of eight = 2 2/5 Florins (p 131)

According to Sir Richard Carnac Temple the value of a Sicca Rupee was as:

1 Riyal of eight = 2 2/5 Sicca Rupee (Master II 303).

This leads to an easy inference that a florin exactly equal to a new or Sicca Rupee of the Mughals. The Riyal of eight referred to here was a contemporary Spanish Dollar.

While working out its pound value Rāychaudhuri (p 224) has indicated a Florin to be worth a little less than Sh 2 which is not correct as Sir Richard Temple has more correctly indicated the pound value of a Florin as Sh 2 - d 3½ (Master op cit). For Sicca Rupee see Habib 382.

106 Rāychaudhuri 141-143

107 These statistics too have been taken from Dutch sources given by Rāychaudhuri 133-138 and 141-143.

108 Raychaudhuri 87

109 Ibid 133 and 138

110 Raychaudhuri 144; Tavernier Bk II 318; Bowrey 24 n 2 see Sec. 12.

111 Relations 65

112 See Sec. 12; for the role of middlemen see Relations 64; Raychaudhuri 11, 12 Terpstra; H: De Vestiging Van de Nederlanders aan de Kust van Koromandel 42, 103-104.

113 Relations 16, 91-93; Raychaudhuri 135, 136, 185, 186

114 Relations XVI, XVII, 64, 78; Bowrey 72; Hadiqah 23-24, 204.

Many of the European factors remarked that the Iranian businessmen were exempted from taxes. Their observations is quite superfluous for the obvious reason that while Iranians were exempted from formal taxes they had to pay heavy informal taxes in the form of presents to the monarchs and the nobles.

115 Relations 52, 54, 55, 64; Hadiqah 251; Master I 70-75, 212; II 160, 178,200; Bowrey 107 and 112 n 2.

116 Master I 89

117 Ḥadīqah 251; Relations 64. There are several notices in the British E.I.F. and Dutch records as well as Persian Chronicles and documents that the Government of Golconda on many occasions exempted import trade from various tolls and duties broadly termed as Zakāt.

Regarding the nature of Zakāt and the controversy whether that institution was adopted by Mughals from the practice of Golconda see Habib 65-67.

118 Relations 52, 54 these are the prevalent rates of duty on incoming and outgoing ships. These rates could be higher (p 55) and in any case they were in addition to the anchorage due (p 54). Such duties could be paid either in cash or kind.

119 Master II 95, 144

120 Quality of goods was scrutinised by the purchasers to the details of the thread, fineness of weaving, the casual curl in the texture and the faulty articles were discarded (Master II 149).

121 It needs be kept in view that the brokers had intimate knowledge of bazar respecting varieties, prices of commercial goods and they could also serve as mustering agents for goods from different manufacturers. The brokers were normally native persons who were 'Dubhash' being conversant with Persian language which was the lingua franca of the open International bazar of coastal Golconda.

122 Golconda architecture owed to the civil engineers (Mi'mār), architects (Naqqāsh) and stone masonary (Ḥujjār) from Iraq (which was a part of Ṣafavī Iran) in collaboration with their Indian counter-parts. Such artists were further helped by Surveyors (Massah) and Land Measurer (Zamīn Paimā) (Ḥadīqah 203, 215; H.M.P. 1092).

123 (Ibid 235)
For the details of Kāshī work in Iran see Sana 54-56; H.M.P. 1185; also Sec. 14 (d) below.

124 The mosaic pieces of Kāshī can still be seen on the western wall of the tomb of Nīknām Khan. Small pieces of the same which could have escaped denudation can be seen on all other royal tombs and in various parts of Golconda Fort. Similarly the enamel decoration can be seen in the interior of the tomb of Ḥayāt Bakshī Begum.

125 The engineer of Ḥussain Sāgar water reservoir had been Ḥussain Shah Walī, a descendant of Sayyid Muḥammad Gesū Darāz of Gulbarga and the son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Qūṭb Shah. He died in the year 1068/1657.

126 It is interesting that the artists were permitted to marginally inscribe their names on epigrams. These names had been taken from various inscriptions many of which had been published by Bilgirāmī.

127 There is quite a good number of books calligraphed and bound in Iranian style and manufactured in Iran or Golconda. Such pieces of Book Industry can be seen in Salar Jung Museum and Library Hyderabad; State Central Library and the Manuscript Library of State Archives, Hyderabad and many other institutions in India and abroad. Even by the time of this study there are a few families in Hyderabad who have inherited the art of Safavi book binding from their ancestors who lived in Golconda. For further details on Book Industry in Iran see Sec. 14(e) below.

128 Golconda had been one of the major centres of the Greco-Persian medicine during the 16th and 17th centuries. Ḥadīqah 21, 189, 210, Talqani No.22 Fryer I 219, 282, II 164; Sherwani(Q) 519; also see ch.V Sec.8.

129 For a detailed study of the economic aspect of slavery in medieval India see Āppadorai 313-322. Though slavery in medieval Iran has not yet been studied but it was one of the most distinct features of the medieval Iranian society.

130 Herbert, as cited by Wilson at 213.

131 Barbosa II 13; 125; Rāychaudhūrī 165; Āppadorai I 316-7.

132 Ibid 165

133 Ḥadīqah 45

134 Relations 38, 52, 60, 61; Bowrey 71, 289; Master I 454, II 36; Rāychaudhurī 182.

135 Rāychaudhurī 12

136 For the magnificent carpet industry of Iran see Denison Ross: Persian Art; Dilley: Oriental Rugs and Carpets; Kendrick, A.F. : Guide to the collection of Carpets; Victoria and Albert Museum (Department of textiles); Sykes II 203, 206; Ḥadīqah 217, also see Sanai 150-171 and the scholarly Arabic paper entitled Al-Absita-Wa'ssajajid by Āḥmad Ẓakī Beg published in A'ssiqafah, Egypt, March 14, 1939.

137 For detailed information on Metallic Industry in Ṣafavī Iran see Ross; II, 2514-5; III 2501-3 and 2558; VI Tableaux De Bashford: A Handbook of Arms and Armour, European and Oriental Sanai 265-273; Sykes II 207.

138 Sanai 270

139 Pope III pp 2121-5, 2129, 2239 and VI Tableaux IV 2101-9. Ackerman: 'A biography of Ghiyath the Weaver' published in The Bulletin of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology; VIIth issue of New York 1934; Naheb Osten: Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East; Sanai 241-251. A brief guide to the Persian Woven Fabrics, Victoria and Albert Museum London 1922; H.M.P. 1188.

140 For detailed information on Naqqāshī during the Safavi period see Pope A.A.A. 127-129; Pope III

1824, 1885-6; V Tableaux 916, 922-3; Blochet, E.: Musulman painting, English translation by Binyon; Kuhnel: Miniature, Malerei im islamischen Orient 2 e ed; Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray: Persian Miniature Painting; The spirit of Persian Art; Ẓakī Muḥammad Ḥasan: a'ttaswir fi'l islam ind-al fars; Sakisian: La Miniature Persene; Ẓakī Muḥammad Ḥasan: A'ttaṣwir wa'l laun ul Muṣawwirīn fīl Islām published in Nawāhi Majidah min Siqafat il islamiah edited by ʿAbdūl Wahhab 'Ūzzām and others, Egypt 1938; Sanai 118-142; H.M.P. 1121.

141 Pope V Tableaux 597, 575-9, 568-570, 583-5, 592, 607-611, 621, 629, 638; Hobson, R.L.: A guide to the Islamic pottery of the Near East, Riviere, H: La Ceramique dans L'art Musulman, Wallis, H: Persian Ceramic Art belonging to Mr F.Du Cane Godman; Dimand: A Handbook of Mōḥammedan decorative Arts, New; Sanai 220-225; H.M.P. 1185.

142 For the art of Muzahhab Kārī or the decoration of the folios of books, under Safavis see A.A.A. 124-127 Arnold, T:Painting in Islam 239; Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray: op.cit. Blochet, E.: Les Peintures des Manuscrites Orientaux de La Bebliotheque Nationale; Deiz Erust: Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art (in Art Islamica III 2); Miner, D: The Art of Persia and Asiatic Migrations, U.S.A.; Sanai 72-77.

For book industry see Agha Ughlu: Persian Book Bindings of the 15th century; Arnold and Grohman: The Islamic Book; Sanai 143-149.

For calligraphy of Safavi period see Mufīdī 396-403, 511; Pope II, 1732-3; Huart: Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de L' Orient Musulman.

143 For details of glass industry in Ṣafavī Iran see Pope VI Tableaux 1413, 1444, 1462; Lamm, C.J.: Glass from Iran in the National Museum Stockholm, Uppsala 1935; Sanai 274-284.

144 S.W.D. 12, 51, 53

145 Fryer III 150-1

146 Ibid; Fryer has shown the pound value of Iranian units of weights as below

	lbs.		
'A Maund Shaw is	12	-	Five eights
A Maund Tabreze is	06	-	and a half
Charack	01	-	and a quarter

their lowest weight is a Miscolle (Misqal) nearest our Ounce whereof':

6	make	an Ounce
96		a pound
600		a Maund Tab
1200		a Maund Shaw, or the King's Maund'.

The above table shows a slight anomaly in the equation. The correct equation should be

A Maund Shaw is	12	-	and a half pounds
A Maund Tabrizi is	06	-	and a quarter pounds

147 Further as Fryer has equated the weights (see note 146 above) saying 'Miscolle nearest our Ounce' and he being an Englishman the system should be avoirdupois.

148 Fryer II 139, III 151-2

149 Ibid

150 Data regarding export trade of Iran to Golconda are scattered in the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English factory records.

151 Raychaudhuri 133-138

152 These had been the periods of Mughal interference after the Deed of Submission and their intrusion after defection of Mir Jumla see ch.II, Sec. 30, 31, 34, 36, and 39 E.F.I. 1670-77 II 134-135.

153 Hadiqah 226

154 Shajar f 392 (b); The missive indicates that these purchases were ordered by ʻAbdullah Qūṭb Shah when Ḥakīm-ul-Mūlk was staying in Iran. Ḥakīm-ul-Mūlk was desired to supervise the purchase. The horses and textiles were meant for royal stable and wardrobe (Jāmdār khānah) of Golconda. The amount of 5 lakh Hūns were meant for purchasing garments ofʻAbdullah Qūṭb Shah himself.

155 Ṭālqānī No.20. There is no authentic reference to Qirān in the contemporary commercial records. Nevertheless a Qiran was an alternate name of Riyāl. A Qirān was a silver coin, 1/10 of which made a Tomān (Lambton 409, also Steingass).

156 T.Q.S. f 127 (b) and f 144 (b) also see ch. II Sec. 21.

157 Ḥadīqah 252; ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah sanctioned a grant of one Hūn per day to him.

158 Makātib (Z) 629

FOUR

Ties of Religion

Sec. 1 Perspective

Religion played a veritable role in the social behaviour of medieval societies. It affected the thought, the conduct and hence the international relations of the peoples in as many ways as the great religions of the world had a capacity to be variably interpreted. Such various interpretations led to the development of many sectarian faiths which were sometimes hostile to each other. The total situation created by their interaction formed a large complex which could be analysed and sorted by indulging into a tiresome process. Here the scope of observation is restricted to the Ties of Religion between Golconda and Iran in so far as it bore on their political relations.

One of the main factors which gave an impetus to the Ṣafavī Revolution was religion. It was not a basic religion introduced by them. It was rather a sectarian upsurge agitated by the leaders of Shi'ite faith under the supreme leadership of Shah Ismā'īl Ṣafavī. Though sectarian, it was so radical and omnivorous that it hardly left any

aspect of Iranian thought and action unaffected. It affected Iranian foreign policy and diplomacy as well. The actual theological and idealogical aspect of Safavi Shi'ism is proposed to be discussed in a separate chapter.[1] In so far as the issue of Religion and State, particularly in the context of the national and international politics and policies are concerned, it needs be discussed here. Religion and politics were so akin in the Safavi movement as to appear like two dimensions of the one and the same fact. The issue of general reaction against the Safavi religious movement, was not so powerful and vehement within Iran as it was experienced by her in external politics. The Safavi dynasty was bound to intensify its idealogical movement to maintain an equilibrium within the hostile nobility, to uphold her prestige in the contemporary society of States and moreover to assume and sanctify a title to political sovereignty.

In Golconda the situation was somewhat different (though in the context of the Religion and Politics it manifested a somewhat similar tendency). The first and the foremost factor, showing a disparity in Golconda situation, was inherent in its heterogenous population adhering to different faiths (See chap.I, Sec.13). While in Iran the Safavi movement could envelope the entire society and affect it to the core. Its operation in Golconda was restricted to the monarch and nobility. Even the entire nobility of Golconda was not for it as the Deccani, the sufi and the indigenous element was quite against it. Golconda in its early days was suffering a political and

sentimental vacuum on account of three factors namely (i) the much weakened Bahamī monarchy, (ii) the less recognised Qūṭb Shāhī Sultans, and (iii) the deteriorating sufi institution (Khānqāh). The vacuum allowed a strong inflow of men and ideas from Iran.

Before making an enquiry into the religious mind and conduct of the Ṣafavīs and Qūṭb Shahs which apparently stood united together, it may be clarified that as a matter of fact religion was not so much a dominating factor in the individual lives of those monarchs as it was a matter of State policy. There had been a very few exception of monarchs who could conform to the strict criterion of their faith in their actual religious conduct and habitude. Whether Shia or Sunni the way of monarchical living was almost uniform. The adoption of a State religion was of course essential without which it was difficult to maintain equilibrium in internal and external policies. It was not therefore significant that how religious a ruler had been in his individual capacity and personal conduct. What mattered much was a ruler's acceptance of a faith as a state religion.

Neither the Safavīs nor Qūṭb Shahs were ancestrally Shias. They adhered to Shi'ite faith under different circumstances.

Sec. 2 Foundations of Ṣafavī Shi'ism

Though Ṣafavī Shi'ism shared all the factors forming the foundations of Shi'ite faith in general, yet it had its own peculiarities.[2] The controversy on the issues of Caliphate and

Imamate was initially of a political character but developed into a strong religious sentiment in Iran and Iraq. By the period of this study the issues of Caliphate and Imamate were the debatable chapters of history but not merely in theory as they had their roots in the active sentiments of the Shias. The much suppressed Shi'ite element fostered to that history with the ardent religious zeal. The religiosity of history and historicity of religion were so intertwined in the mind of Shia society that it could be politically mobilised by stimulating its religious sentiment or vice versa. The suppression of Shia reactionaries led them to run their hidden missionaries with definite political motives and designs which were cherished by the Shia society waiting for a proper time.

By the close of the 15th and early 16th centuries the socio political and economic conditions in Iran paved way for the development of a host of potentates throughout the country without a strong unifying superior authority and in every respect at the cost of populace. The situation was ripe for a revolution.[3]

One more noticeable factor contributing to the Shi'ite revolution was the changing relationship between the Ṣūfīs and the State throughout the muslim world during the 15th century. Early during that century the Ṣūfīs had been a dominating influence over the State but subsequently that domination was first reduced to a compromise between the two in which both were unified then the Ṣūfī institution started getting demora-

lised ultimately to be converted to Shia in Iran[4] and passively detached from politics in the Deccan.[5] Three instances of the families of Sayyid Mūḥammad Gisū Darāz (d. 825/1422) of Gūlbarga, Shah Ni'mat ullah (d. 831/1428) of Kirmān and of Shah Ṣafī-u'ddīn of Ārdabīl (d. 735/1334) if carefully studied it may reveal that all the above Sufis led a life of complete renunciation and the contemporary monarchs were rather awed by their great spiritual influence. The muslim States were at a critical moment to take a decisive action respecting their relation with the sufidom or the muslim church. On the other hand the descendants, of course not the immediate ones, of the above great Sufis had developed a mundane tendency and grown worldly-wise. They accepted, positions in the court, larger apanages granted by monarchs and their disciplehood covered most important sections of the elite. They entered into matrimonial relations with the royal families. That virtually proved a wedding of the church and the State at the cost of the former.[6]

Since the Safavis claimed to be Sayyids and they had been the mystic preceptors (characterised with the self centred tendency of a secretive nature and sustained introvert thinking creating an atmosphere of awe and mystry) they were well in a position to work out grounds for the divine sanction of their political suzerainty. If not immediately however subsequently the Safavi mūjtahids like Mīr Mūḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1699-70) went to the extent of presenting two sayings (Āḥādīṡ) of the prophet predicting the appearance of the Safavi

dynasty which would eradicate infidels in the East particularly from Jazirā to Mūltān with their capital at Gīlān.[7] That treatise was largely circulated in the Deccan as well.[8]

Sec. 3 Political Aspect of Shi'ism and Tāj

As introduced earlier (chap.II Sec.3) the personality of Iran had imbued a kinetic trend from Shi'ite idealism propelled by the Ṣafavīs. The Ṣafavī regimen, in which religion and politics appeared as the two dimensions of her international policy of expansionist had to adopt different methods for popularising its own version of Shi'ism.[9] Apart from its idealogical aspect the devices for popularising the faith in the contemporary society of States were diverse. The one most significant way to that end was the deputation of Elchis of different categories to the contemporary monarchs with letters professing Shi'ite faith, and gifts including a Tāj. The Safavi Tāj having twelve scallops, each of which representing one of the Imams, was not an invention of the Safavi household. As a matter of fact the distinguished Sayyids of Iran all put on caps or Taj with twelve scallops which was indicative of their being descendants of those Imams on one hand and that of their believe in the rightful claim of ʿAlī and his descendants to the institution of Caliphate. It may be interesting to refer to Shah Ni'mat ullah who had sent a Tāj of twelve scallops with the title of Valī to Āḥmad Shah Bahmanī as early as in 831?/1428.[10]

The Ṣafavī Tāj should have been different from that of Kirmānī in the details of its shape but it had twelve scallops

based on a common principle. Nevertheless its peculiarity was its red colour. The Ṣafavī nobility and army were called red heads (Qizlbāsh) on account of its Red Tāj.[11] The first instance of Shah Ismā'īl's sending over the Tāj to the Deccan is traced as early as in the year 921/1515 when he sent it as a token of his invitation to Shia faith to Maḥmūd Shah Bahmanī who could not accept it.[12]

The Ṣafavī monarchs had also developed a practice to honour their eminent guests by crowning them with Tāj so as to enforce their faith on them as Shah Ṭahmāsp did in case of Hūmāyūn.[13] They had also been sending the Taj to the Qūṭb Shahs. It is not known if that Taj was sent more than once to one ruler or by one ruler yet many of the Qūṭb Shāhī monarchs had received Tāj from Iran. Again it may not be said in definite terms if the crowns of the Qūṭb Shahs were the same received from Iran or those were their own. The tradition of sending Tāj was that of the Sufis in the past and it was adhered to by the Ṣafavīs in their combined religio-political capacity. Sending over a Tāj by them and its acceptance by Golconda was an expression of stronger ties of religion between the two.

The most meaningful evidence for the religio-political attachment of Golconda with Iran is afforded by the recitation of Shi'ite Khutbah with an expression of Qūṭb Shāhī allegiance to Safavis. A Khutbah had therefore two aspects: the one religious and the other political. Religiously it required inclusion of the names of Twelve Imams replacing the names of four

orthodox Caliphs. It was done by Sultan Qulī in the year 918/1512 when he was still a provincial Governor (ṭarafdār) of Tilangāna.[14] Politically he included the name of Shah Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī, probably by dropping the name of the Bahmanī monarch in the year 924/1518, after the complete fall of Bahmanīs.[15] That Khutbah was continued by all the Qūṭb Shāhī Sultans till Sultan ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah was oppressed by Shah Jahān to execute the Deed of Submission (Inqiyād Nāmah) 1045/1636.[16]

Sec. 4 Shi'ite Influence in the Deccan

Qūṭb Shahs were not the pioneer advocates of Shi'ism in the Deccan. Even among the other Deccan Sultans, succeeding the Bahmanis, Qutb Shahs were the last to declare themselves to be Shiʿas. The nucleus of Shi'ite faith and traditions in the Deccan society can be traced from the times of Ferōz Shah Bahmanī who followed some of the Shiʿa traditions[17] at the instance of his Shia preceptor Mīr Faẓl-ullah Injū.[18] Injū was quite close to Fīrōz Shah not only on account of the reason he was his preceptor but also due to the fact that subsequently he was appointed as Prime Minister by him.

The rise of Shiʿa element and influence in the Bahmanī society mainly owed to the influx of Āfāqīs from the times of Āḥmad Shah Bahmanī (825/1422). He was the first of Bahmanī monarchs, who, probably as advised by his Āfāqī friend Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣarī neglected the Sufis of the Deccan and invited Shah Ni'mat ullah Kirmānī from Māhān.[19] Though Shah Ni'mat ullah

could not concede to his invitation on account of his old age but he conferred on him the mystic title of Valī and accepted him as his disciple (murīd).[20] Two of the grandsons of Shah Ni'mat ullah Kirmānī named Ḥabīb ullah and Muḥib ullah Kirmānī reached Bīdar by 834/1430 and were taken into matrimonial relationship with the royal family. Ḥabīb ullah Kirmānī being elder was occupying the mystic seat of his family in Bīdar. Though the other Sufi Saints of Bīdar like Sayyidul Sādāt Muḥammad Ḥanīf, Ābul Fayz Muḥammad Muḥammad ul Ḥusaynī and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Multānī were invited to important State functions but normally they were away from politics. The other Sufis of Gūlbarga, Bījāpūr and Daultābād were more detached from the helm of affairs at the court. That situation placed the Kirmānīs in a dominating position.

In any case history had changed the course of events and the union of religion and politics in the Bahmanī Kingdom provided a channel for the long suppressed Shi'ite element to come forward with profound political aspirations. That resulted into an extraordinary influx of Āfāqis who were Shias from Iran and Arabia.[21] Those Āfāqis soon dominated the Bahmanī elite. Of course the Bahmanī elite consisted of two elements namely the Deccanis and the Āfāqis who were always hostile to each other. The Bahmanī monarchs had the unenviable task of maintaining an equilibrium between the two clashing elements in their Kingdom. The great Bahmanī Vizir Maḥmūd Gāwān was a miserable victim of the same.[22]

The Deccanī-Āfāqī conflict continued throughout the

Bahmanī period till five of its nobles assumed autonomy, three of whom subsequently declared themselves to be Shias.[23]

While such was the situation in the Deccan the state of affairs in Iran was entirely different. There the Turkmāns were struggling against each other in different orders. In the first order the Qarā Qūyūnlūs fought against Chaghtāis; in the second they fought against Āq Qūyūnlūs and in the third stage the Āq Qūyūnlūs were undone by an alliance of various Turkmān clans on 'tribal principles' under the leadership of Shah Ismā'īl Ṣafavī.[24]

It is therefore inferred that throughout the 15th century the political aspirations of Shias were expressed in one way or the other by many of the Sayyid families which had been upholding Sufism.[25] It was the second stage when it made an open and formal declaration in Iran through Shah Ismā'īl. It was again in turn followed by the rulers of the Deccan including Qūṭb Shahs.

It is interesting to note that in the middle of the 15th century while religious authority was assumed by monarchy in the Deccan, by the close of the same century political authority was assumed by the religious leaders in Iran. In any case it was a union of religion and politics, which manifested itself in a peculiar character of now a religious politics and then a political religion.

Sec. 5 The Religion of Qūṭb Shahs

The traditional religion of Qūṭb Shahs should be the one adhered by their Qarā ancestors ever since their conversion to Islam.[26] Obviously the religion first adhered by them in the Ṣahārā of Oxus should have been based on Sunni faith. But even since their settlement at Lake Van and particularly with the rise of Qarā Mūḥammad and Qarā Yūsuf they appear to have been much engaged in war and less serious about religion. Nūrullah Shūstarī observed that the general conduct and habitude of Qarās, except that of Mirzā Ispand, usually violated the edicts of Islamic tradition (Sharī'ah).[27] The disrespectful attitude of Jahān Shah in banishing Shaikh Jūnayd the grand father of Shah Ismā'īl Ṣafavī speaks of his disregard even for the Sufis of great order or at least his political frankness in respect of such politicians who had religious background. The Qarās did not show any remarkable religious trend except the one that Jahān Shah became a disciple (mūrīd) of Shah Na'īm-u'ddīn Ni'mat ullah Yazdī, a descendant of Shah Ni'mat ullah Kirmānī (d. 831/1428) and gave his daughter in marriage to him.[28] After Jahān Shah, the Qarā Qūyūnlūs fell a victim to the Āq Qūyūnlūs who were the disciples of the Ṣafavī household which was then assuming a Shi'ite character.[29] Moreover the political rise of the Ṣafavīs brought the Kirmānī and Ṣafavī families closer by matrimonial ties.[30] Sultan Qūlī Qūṭb Shah who was brought up in an atmosphere of Āq domination which was further overwhelmed with its excessive devotion to the Ṣafavī household had in every

likelihood inherited Shi'ite faith.

Some of the ladies of Qarā family like Ārayish Begum and Āurāq Sultan daughters of Qarā Iskandar had a leaning towards certain aspects of Shi'ite faith.[31] Sultan Qūlī is the first person in the line who, though quite late, declared himself a Shia with a claim that he had been adhering to that faith even before Shah Ismāil initiated his movement.[32]

Whatever might have been the faith of Qarās and even Sultan Qūlī during his early career, it is a fact that he held Shi'ite faith as state religion ever since he assumed autonomy.[33] It may not be overlooked that Sultan Qūlī advanced a claim of being a Shia only after the rise of Shah Ismāil in Iran.[34] Moreover he was not the first of the Deccan Sultans in declaring his adherence to the Shi'ite faith as he was calmly following the changing attitude of Ādil Shahs.[35]

By the year 944/1537 Burhān Nizām Shah too joined the common faith of Bījāpūr and Golconda and then there developed a uniform socio-religious conduct of all the three Sultanates resulting into a uniform foreign policy specially in the context of their relations with Iran. As noticed elsewhere in this observation religion and politics went ahead reciprocally governing the conduct of each other and in an unreturnable political direction of either a complete victory or a total distruction.

The unchangeable character of Golconda-Iran relations and the passivity of the former allowed a heavy influx of Iranian

elite, in Golconda, which in turn prevailed so much on the Sultans that they never felt any need to revise their religious policy. All the Qūṭb Shahs adhered to Shi'ite faith and held it up as a State religion.[36] That was emphatically professed in their correspondence with the Safavis of Iran.[37] In such correspondence, the Qūṭb Shahs claimed that they had been adhering to the faith of Ṣafavī household and had been doing their best to further the International Ṣafavī movement.[38] As a preliminary measure they had declared their sultanates Dār u'salām as against Dār ul Ḥarb.[39] It was due to their efforts the Shi'ite doctrinal phrase 'ʿAlīun Valī ullah' had been echoing in the atmosphere of Golconda Sultanate. After the execution of the Deed of Submission the Shi'ism officially ceased to be the State Religion of Golconda. That necessarily placed ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah in a dilemmatic position particularly in the context of his relations with Iran. He continued personally to be the adherent of Shi'ite faith. In the year 1072/1661 he sent Rażī Dānish as his vice-pilgrim (Nāib-u'zziyārah) at Mashhad assigning an annuity of a few thousand Tūmān Tabrīzī sanctioned for the lifetime of Rażī Dānish. The vice-pilgrim was to pay visits to the holy shrine of Imam ʿAlī Rażā every day in the morning with all necessary rituals.[40]

It is interesting that Ābul Ḥasan Qūṭb Shah who was a disciple of the Sufi Saint Shah Rājū also claimed his adherence to Shi'ite faith in his letter addressed to Shah Sūlaymān Ṣafavī.[41]

Sec. 6 Religious Missionaries

It was a strong missionary organisation under Ṣafavī patronage that was able to achieve international diffusion of Shi'ite faith reflecting the idealogy of its patrons. In Iran there developed a good number of schools (madrasahs) which produced efficient and scholarly mujtahids,[42] who successfully spread their mission in Iran and carried it to India specially to the Deccan. Some of the mujtahids were also astute diplomats; they were able to acquire important positions in Golconda and other Deccan Sultanates. They thus spread Ṣafavī idealogy and influence beyond Iran. A few of such personalities may be introduced here.

a) SHAH ṬĀHIR

The first of the Shia missionaries who reached the Deccan after Ṣafavī Revolution was Shah Ṭāhir.[43] He landed at Dabhol (Gōā) in the year 926/1520.[44] He was not a State missionary formally deputed by Shah Ismāʿil. Contrarily he was an emigre who had left Iran consequent on his earning the displeasure of Shah Ismāʿīl who had become suspicious about Shah Ṭāhir's sincere adherence to the Āṣnā-i- ʿĀsharī (or the Ja'farī) version of Shi'ism professed by him.[45]

Shah Ṭāhir had no official status when he arrived in the Deccan. He was not deputed as a Ṣafavī diplomat nor did he represent any Shia organisation as a missionary. He was all on his own playing a lone hand and he achieved a good success

in setting the religious mind and the politics of the Deccan Sultans in a new direction. The confidence of Būrhān Nizām Shah I which he commanded may be judged from the incident that as early as in the year 932/1526 he was sent as a political representative to the court of Bābūr.[46] He played important role by mediating in conflicts between the Sultans of the Deccan. In the special context of the external policy of Golconda he mediated between ʿAlī Barīd and Sultan Qūlī Qūṭb Shah while the former had been encroaching on Golconda territories in alliance with Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shah I in the year 941/1534.[47]

Burhān Nizām Shah was a Sunni Sultan and was rather indisposed to accept the Shi'ite faith though he willingly accepted the political and diplomatic services of Shah Ṭāhir. Shah Ṭāhir made Āḥmadnagar the centre of his activities where he developed large scale contacts with the nobility and the muslim masses, indulging into a series of public debates, group discussions and other ways of dialogues (properly termed as mūnāzarah) with the reactionaries who were sunnis. His achievement as a missionary may be judged from the conversion of Burhān Nizām Shah to Shi'ism in 944/1537[48] on the one hand and a rapid conversion of sunnis from all ranks and sometimes at the rate of three thousand persons per day. It was through his efforts the names of the first three Caliphs (Āṣḥāb-i-Ṣūlāṣah) were dropped and the names of twelve Imams were included in Khutbah at Āḥmednagar.[49]

The news of the great socio-religious change in Āḥmednagar brought about by Shah Ṭāhir and that of his dominating

influence reached the court of Shah Ṭahmāsp in Iran. The Iranian monarch did not make any delay in making use of such an effective missionary as that of Shah Ṭāhir in the Deccan. He therefore addressed him through a Firman in the year 949/1542 appreciating his valuable services. Shah Ṭahmāsp encouraged him to propagate the Twelvers' faith in the Deccan.[50] Again in Rabi I 954/ May 1547 Shah Ṭahmāsp addressed Shah Ṭahmāsp addressed Shah Ṭāhir, of course in reply to his letter, through a Firman sent with Khurshāh bin Qūbād-ul-Ḥusaynī the elchi of Nīzām Shah returning from Iran. Shah Ṭahmāsp admired, in laudatory tone, the valuable services of Shah Ṭāhir rendered to the cause of the Ṣafavī movement in the Deccan. Shah Ṭāhir's mission upheld and furthered the movement both in its religious and political aspects and that fact was acknowledged by Shah Ṭahmāsp who never failed encouraging him to intensify his mission.[51]

Shah Ṭāhir gained good influence in the Deccan as well as in Iran. His accomplished scholarship, his political acueman, his social contacts and above all his being a Sayyid placed him in such a position from where he could effectively influence the conduct of the interstatal politics and policies as well as the socio-religious mind of the people in the Deccan. This he did till his death in 956/1549.[52]

b) MĪR MŪḤAMMAD MŪMIN

The most important person who played a distinct role in the socio-political life of Golconda Sultanate was Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin. He was born at Āstarābād in 960/1552. He was the nephew

of the renowned scholar Āmīr Fakhr-u'ddīn Sammakī and a student of Sayyid Nūr-u'ddīn-al-Mūsavī-al-Shustarī. He was appointed as preceptor of Sultan Ḥaydar son of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī. But the prince died young and Shah Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī II ascended the Iranian throne on the death of Shah Ṭahmāsp. During his reign Mīr Mūḥammad Mūmin migrated to Golconda in 989/1581 a few months after the death of Sultan Ibrāhīm Qūṭb Shah. He entered Qūṭb Shāhī services under Sultan Mūḥammad Qūlī and rose to the highest post of Peshwa by about 994/1585.[54]

As Peshwā or Prime Minister he was responsible for the formulation of all state policies. As a member of the Ṣafavī court he had done his apprenticeship as an administrator. This training and experience stood him in good stead as Peshwa at Golconda. All important decisions about internal and external matters like appointments of persons on key posts and the deputation of Elchis and also the appointments of persons at Majlis, were taken by him or at least in consultation with him. He was second important person among the highest of the Golconda nobles as the first was Mīr Kamāl-u'ddīn Muṣṭafā Khan Ārdestānī.[55]

Both Iranian and Golconda sources unanimously attest that Mīr Mūḥammad Mūmin rendered a yeoman service for the furtherance of Shia doctrine and faith in Golconda. He adopted threefold devices to that effect.

Firstly he was a scholar of considerable stature and encouraged Shia scholarship in Golconda generally by inviting or entertaining intellectuals from Iran.[56] Secondly by increasing the strength and influence of Shia element in the Qūṭb Shāhī

elite as he was occupying the privileged position of the Peshwa of the Sultanate. Thirdly by setting up ʿĀshūr Khānahs and other Shia institutions in the city and other parts of the Sultanate.

His political stature and the distinct role in spreading Shia faith in the Deccan was appreciated by Shah ʿAbbās II who entered into correspondence with him on religio-political issues of common interest.[57]

SHAIKH MŪḤAMMAD IBN KHĀTŪN

Shaikh Shams u'ddīn Ābū Ma'alī Mūḥammad bin ʿAlī bin Khātūn ul Āmūlī popularly called by medieval historians as Ibn Khātūn was another figure who played an important role in shaping the policies of Golconda Sultanate.

He was born in a village called Aynās located in the hilly area of Āmōl. He received his education at Mashhad and Isfahan especially under the renowned scholar Shaikh Bahā-u'ddīn Mūḥammad bin Ḥusain ul Āmōlī (d. 1031/1621).[58] He reached Golconda in about 1009/1600 where, after sometime, he was entertained by Sultan Mūḥammad Qūṭb Shah and gradually attained the position of royal epistolarian (dabīr-ul-mūmālik). In 1025/1616 he was sent to the court of Shah ʿAbbās I as a return Elchi of Golconda accompanying the Iranian Elchi Ḥusyain Beg Qāpūchībāshī.[59] After four years stay in Iran when he returned to Golconda he was appointed Peshwa of the Sultanate during the reign of Sultan ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah. He was the last person to hold that supreme position after Mīr Mūḥammad Mūmin in 1038/1629. Again in the year

1058/1648 he proceeded on Ḥaj pilgrimage from the port of Masūlipatam and died in a shipwreck near the port of Mochā in 1059/[60] 1649.

Ibn Khātūn possessed a versatile personality. He was an eminent scholar, a skilful administrator, a politician and a diplomat. He played a significant part in balancing the external policy of Golconda. Most of the members of the Majlis during the times of ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah were appointed at his instance. Inspite of all his administrative and political activities he was running his own school (madrasah) and taking personal interest in education and entered into academic discourses with scholars and intellectuals every day[61]. He used to attend all important cultural functions and was accessible to common people.[62] His range of activities kept the political elite, the intellectuals, the literati, the diplomats and even the masses profoundly under his influence. Ibn Khātūn worked for popularising the Shia faith in all such circles.

Most significant of his contribution were his books relating to various aspects of Shia doctrine or faith.[63]

Shaikh Ibn Khātūn's scholarly efforts to popularise Shi'ite faith in Golconda was somewhat similar to that of Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī in Iran. He was not only a missionary in himself but was more an organiser of missionaries. The traffic of Mujtahids, scholars, men of letters and other intellectuals from Iran to Golconda encouraged by Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khātūn was far greater during the time of ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah than the traffic during earlier periods.[64]

Sec. 7 Popular Shi'ism in Golconda

While Mujtahids were making their best to influence the indigenous elite with Shia doctrines the Sultans too, under the guidance of Mujtahids, were trying to popularise the Shi'ite faith among the common people both in urban and rural areas. As it is a general case that every religion flourishes with different periodical rituals so also Shi'ism flourished popularly in Golconda. The popular Shi'ism in Golconda mostly consisted of rituals, patronised by the Sultans.

The Golconda society, Sunni and Hindu had already a series of their rituals, some of which were patronised by the State from ancient times.[65] Among the Sunni festivals Shab-i-barāt, Milād-u'nnabī and various ʿUrses were the chief socio-religious functions patronised by the Sultans. Milād-u'nnabī was celebrated once a year[66] but ʿUrses of hundreds of Saints laying at rest were celebrated round the year.[67] The Hindu society had been celebrating the illuminous Dipavalī, colour sprinkling Hōlī and Dassera with processional grandeur. Various elements of these Hindu rituals had been adopted by the Sunnis in their celebration of Shab-i-barāt, Milād and ʿUrs etc. All these Sunni and Hindu rituals had gained socio-economic roots and were shared by the masses of both the communities.

MŪHARRAM

In view of the above circumstances it was a cumbersome

task for Quṭb Shahs to develop a popular Shi'ism by introducing Shi'ite rituals equivalent to those of the Sunni and Hindu rituals. Of course they instituted ʿĀshūr Khānahs and Imām Bādas of various sizes in the city and almost in every village. They had been spending enormous amounts on the celebration of the mourning rituals from 1st to the 10th of Mūḥarram every year. All sorts of pleasure seeking activities, music and slaughter of animals, eating of pan and hair dressing were officially prohibited throughout the Sultanate. All the nobles, officials and servants were provided with black dress from Government wardrobe (jāmdār khānah). ʿĀshūr Khānahs were decorated and made more illuminous with abundant of light and more than ten thousand lights were lit at ʿĀshūr Khānahs where symbolic standards (ʿAlams) representing fourteen innocents were erected. Shia preachers (Ẓākirs) would give lectures in praise of the innocents and condemn the first three Caliphs. Ambassadors of Iran, Hindustan and other Deccan Sultanates would attend State celebration of Mūḥarram.[68]

Mūḥarram was celebrated similarly throughout the Sultanate at all ports, forts and villages. The expenditure of which were met from Government treasury. That popularised Shia traditions among the Sunnis and Hindus who used to take special bath during Mūḥarram neatly dress and prepare sherbet. The name of Ḥusain became much popular and was adopted even by Hindus.[69] Mūḥarram celebrations would continue upto 20th of next month Ṣafar with several intermediary rituals which could

attract masses. Various items of rituals were so interesting and devotional like moving round the fire as that of Hōlī; lighting like that of Dīpāvalī and processions carrying sacred standards as that of Dassera. State patronage made these celebrations more grand than those performed privately.

MĪLĀD-U'NNABĪ

The birdhday of the prophet of Islam (Mīlād-u'nnabī) was celebrated in Golconda in a glorious way as a state function. It became a very interesting festival during the times of Sultan Muḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah but since it mostly represented a Sunni tradition Sultan Muḥammad Qūlī's successor Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah prohibited its official and private celebration. The festival was revived by ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah with unprecedented pomp and glory. The revived Mīlād festival obtained an international significance and was attended by the ambassadors scholars and artists of various parts of the world specially from Iran.[70]

SHAB-I-BARĀT

Shab-i-barāt was celebrated on the night of 15th Sha'ban with many rituals and entertainments in Golconda. Abundant lighting was arranged and fireworks were played. The monarchs themselves took part in the festival. Sultan Muḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah who was fond of festivals sang in praise of Shab-i-barāt as well.[71]

In addition to the above festive occasions there had

been some other functions tying up Golconda Iran sentiments together. Among such festivals mention may be made of Jashn-i-Nau Rōz and ʿĪd-i-Ghadīr in praise of which Sultan Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah sang in happy numbers contributed in Deccanī[72] idiom.

The Ṣafavī Shi'ism profoundly affected contemporary Iranian art and architecture. The designs of carpets, the printed and woven textiles with a good number of patterns, the book binding and metallic industry all underwent a drastic change in so far as their pattern was concerned. The new patterns of all the industries were governed by Shi'ite motif. The same motif was brought to Golconda where the art and architecture represented a parallel progress on par with Iran.

The name of the city was changed to Hyderabad after the name of Ḥaydar (ʿAlī).[73] The famous edifice of Charminar was a duplication of a similar monument of similar name in Yazd and represented the form of a ceremonial Shi'ite standard called Taʿziyah.[74] All Quṭb Shāhī buildings now extant have distinct Shi'ite motif in their architectural patron. Similar is the case of other industrial products now preserved in different museums.

All such devices were effective enough to mould the taste, the mind and the character of the subjects as desired by the Shi'ite rulers. Still there was a considerable element which was antagonistic to Shi'ism and the Iranian domination.

There were instances when the Iranian or Shi'a and the Deccani or the Sunni elements provoked each other or clashed ultimately to result into great social disturbances.[75]

It is difficult to say if there could have developed an appreciable cultural synthesis of Shia, Sunni and Hindu elements of society upto the end of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah, but it appears to have been so developing during the times of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah when these religions ~~were~~ fared well together in a social harmony by a mixed type of the performance of rituals. The trend grew more mature during the reign of Abul Ḥasan when puritanism was sinking into oblivion and cultural amalgamation was the general trend. Whether religious or political the conscious mind of society was sinking into indolence and a sort of blind but pseudo love for Quṭb Shahs, a hatred against the Mughals and a respect for Iran, of course prevailed for sometime in the Deccan which continued a little after the fall of Golconda also. That was the achievement of constant efforts of Indo-Iranian missionaries functioning over a century and four scores of years in Golconda.

References and Notes

1 See ch. V Sec.9-13; and Annexure B

2 For foundations of Shi'ism see Annexure B

3 The first large scale devastation in the 15th century Iran started from the rise of Timur and the decline of Ilkhānis which was followed by agelong hostility between the successors of Timur and Qarā Qūyūnlūs which implicated the fate of many potentates and hampered the agricultural progress. The third stage of conflict was between Āq-Qūyūnlūs and Qarā Qūyūnlūs and then between Āq-Qūyūnlūs and Ṣafavīs which again involved turkman tribes and Iranian potentates. Sykes II, ch. IX; for an account of the economic foundations of the conflict paving way for the Ṣafavi absolutism see Lambton, ch. IV and V.

4 Browne has given an excellent account of how the Sufi monastaries were oppressed and converted into Madrasahs where doctrinal Shi'ite education was imparted and Mūjtahids were produced (Browne IV, 19-21, 26-27, 56, 120, 354, 383, 404, 420.

5 For details see Sec. 5 below

6 Sayyid Mūḥammad Gesū Darāz of Gulbarga was much displeased with the fact that his descendants accepted good positions in the royal court (An account of the saint's displeasure has been recorded by his grandson Ābul Faiẓ Minallah of Bidar in his Shawāmil ul Jūmal Fī Shimā'il il Kumāl (f 194) preserved with the Sajjāda Ṣaḥib of Rauẓa-i-Shaikh Gulbarga).

Larger apanages were granted to his descendants earlier by Bahmanis and later by Quṭb Shahs and ʿĀdil Shahs (more than a hundred documents of such grants are preserved in K.H.C.

In so far as the matrimonial relations are concerned those took place both in Iran and Golconda.

i) The Ṣafavī and Kirmānī families in Iran entered into matrimonial relations from the times of Shah Ṭahmāsp. Khadijah Sultan Begum the third daughter of Shah Ṭahmāsp was married to Shah Ni'matullah son of Mīr-i-Mirān Yazdī and after her death Ṭahmāsp's eighth and widowed daughter Khanash Begum was married to the same Shah Ni'matullah (A.A.A. 103, 164).

Ṣabiyah Sultan Begum (correctly it is Ṣafiyah Sultan as contained in many codexes of A.A.A.) the daughter of Ismāʿil Mirzā was married to Shah Khalīlullah the younger son of Shah Ni'matullah Yazdī (Ibid 164).

A daughter of Shah Ni'matullah Yazdī born to Khanash Begum was married to Sultan Muḥammad Mirzā (Ibid 100, 108).

ii) The descendants of Shah Ṣafī-u'ddīn of Ārdabīl also entered into matrimonial relations with the household of Āq-Qūyūnlu chiefs as Shaikh Junayd Ṣafavī had married the sister of Uzūn Ḥasan. Shaikh Ḥaydar Ṣafavī married Uzūn Ḥasan's daughter named Martha Halimah Bakī Āqā or ʿĀlam Shah Begum (Browne IV, 47).

iii) In the Deccan, Āḥmad Shah Vali Bahmani gave his daughter in marriage to Shah Ḥabībullah and

his grand daughter to Shah Muhibullah. Both were the grandsons of Shah Nūr-u'ddin Ni'matullah Kirmani (Burhan 81; Firishtah I, 635).

iv) Among the descendants of Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz, Husayn Shah Vali has been reported to have married the daughter of Ibrāhim Qutb Shah (Malkapūri, A.J: Mahbūb i-zil Minān 337-342; Sherwāni Q 203). ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah's daughter was married to Ābul Hasan a disciple of Sufi Saint Shah Rajū (Tālqāni No.39; Zamimah f 182 b; Zafrah 34).

7 (a) The two traditions (Āhādis) presented by Mir Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi have not been approved by any sunni sources. Mir Muhammad Bāqir traces the first tradition from Imām Muhammad bin ʿAli Bāqir and the second from Imām Jaʿfar bin Muhammad Sadiq both recorded by Abū Khalid Kābuli in his Kitab-i-ghibat with reference to Muhammad bin Ibrāhim al-Nuʿmāni.

This interesting treatise of Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlisi deals with two issues namely the disappearance (ghayb) of the twelfth Imām and the appearance (zūhur) of the Safavis that was obviously with an intention to assign a greater divine sanctity to the Safavi family. (Vide Risālah ghayb-wa-huzūr) also see n 7 below.

(b) It may be noted that earlier such efforts were discouraged by Safavi monarchs. In the year 962/1554 a band of Qalandars called on Shah Tahmāsp during his stay at Sultania and declared that the hidden Imām al Mihdi al Mūntazar had reappeared in the person of Shah Tahmāsp. Shah Tahmasp did not

entertain such declaration and awarded capital punishment to those Qalandars when they vehemently insisted on their claim (A.A.A. 90).

8 Several codexes of Kitāb-i-ghayb-wa-ḥuẓūr copied in Golconda and Bījāpūr are still preserved in various institutions and families of Hyderabad. Two copies of the same are preserved in the Salār Jung Museum and Library Hyderabad at ʿAqāyad-wa-Kalām No.67.

9 Browne IV, ch. VIII; Malcolm I, 500-3

10 The Taj of the Kirmānīs sent to Aḥmad Shah had twelve scallops and was of green colour. (Firishtah I, 634).

11 The tradition of Red Taj of the Qizilbāsh Movement was also adopted by some of the rulers of the Deccan especially Yūsūf ʿĀdil Shah who made the Red Taj a compulsory part of the dress of his army (Firishtah II, 33).

12 Būrhān 162 also see ch. II f.n. 17

13 Āftābchī 64; R.I. 30-1.

14 Firishtah II, 329; also see ch. II. Sec. 5

15 The year 924/1518 may be marked as the year of big change as by that year the Bahmani monarch Maḥmūd Shah Bahmanī died and Sultan Qūlī Quṭb Shah too had declared autonomy virtually leaving no territorial jurisdiction for governance by the succeeding four petty Bahmani rulers namely Āḥmad Shah IV, ʿAlā-u'ddīn, Walīullah and Kalīmullah Bahmanī. These

kings had a jurisdiction hardly within the four walls of their palace and were at the mercy of the Amīrs. Firishtah II, 329, 330.

16 See ch. II Sec. 29

17 Early during his career he was faced with a matrimonial problem of having more than four wives. It was not permissible under Sunni Traditions. Mīr Fazlullah Injū justified the action through Shi'ite Traditions. That became a subject of debate and discussion. Firishtah I 587-588.

18 Fazlullah Injū was born in the renowned Injū family of Shīrāz. Inju or Anjū was a sort of land grant forming a category of Crown lands (Lambton 78). Such land which was as good as Khāliṣah and had been assigned to a Ṭabā Ṭabā Sayyid of Fars named Abūl Miyaman Ḥasan by Ābāqā 680/1281 and Arghūn, 690/1291 the son and grandson of Hulāgū. The same land grant continued in the name of Abūl Miyamān's son Quṭb-u'ddīn Aḥmad by way of Injū. The descendants of Quṭb-u'ddin had since then known as Injū Sayyids who were actually the Ṭaba Ṭaba Sayyids (Lambton 79). Fazlullah Injū was educated under the renowned scholar Sa'ad-u'ddin Taftāzānī 722/1322 to 791/1389. He was in due course appointed as the preceptor of the Bahmani Princes Fīrōz Shah and Aḥmad Shah and as Prime Minister during the reign of Fīrōz Shah (See Firishtah I ch. Firoz Shah Bahmani; ʿAbdūl Majeed Ṣiddiqui Islamic Culture Vol.

19 Firishtah I, 633, 634; Būrhan 54, 65

20 Firishtah I, 634

21 A masterly account of such influx of Āfāqīs in more than one turn has been given by H.K. Sherwānī as 'old comers and new comers' (Sherwānī (B), 191, 223).

22 The event of Chakan affords a clear instance of the seriousness of Deccani Āfāqi conflict. (Būrhān 81-84; Sherwānī (B); 240-243) also see Sherwānī's excellent discussion on party system and Bahmanis; (Sherwānī (B), ch. VIII). For Gawān's death see Firishtah I 691-693; Būrhān 130; Sherwānī (B), 335-336.

23 Among the five sultans of the Deccan succeeding the Bahmanis three declared themselves Shiahs. They were the ʿĀdil Shahs, the Nizām Shahs and the Quṭb Shahs. The ʿImād Shahs and Barīd Shahs remained Sunnis.

24 Professor Minorsky has made an excellent analysis of the tribal principle of alliance and disalliance and has treated the Ṣafavī Revolution as the third stage of Qarā Qūyūnlu and Āq Qūyūnlu conflict and Turkman domination. (See Taẓkirat-ul-Mūlūk translated and edited with notes by Minorsky p. 30; Lambton p. 106). Also see Ẓiāu'ddin Aḥmad Shakeb: Black Sheep Tribe Pub: in Itihas Vol. III, No.2.

25 The careers of Shaikh Junayd and Shaikh Ḥaydar Ṣafavī in Iran clearly explain the trend. (Browne IV 47). Similarly Shah Khalīlullah Kirmānī son of Shah Ni'matullah Kirmānī showed a haughty and mundane attitude in his relations with the monarch (Mufīdī 44-46). His son Ḥabībullah fell a victim in his game of politics (Būrhān 92-94).

26 See Ziau'ddin Ahmad Shakeb: op. Cit.

27 Majālis: Section relating to Qarā Qūyūnlus.

28 Mufīdī 53

29 Browne IV 45-47

30 See f.n. 18 above

31 According to Nūrullah Shūstarī those two ladies or rather the entire tribe was Shiah. The observation is based on the simple evidence that the inscriptions on the rings of those two ladies were indicative of their love of Ali and his descendants. (Majālis: Section relating to Qarā Qūyūnlūs). This is a fantastic inference and a far fetched logic.

32 T.Q.S. f 25 a

33 Ibid f 25 a, 26 a

34 Firishtah II, 329, 330

35 Ibid

36 The seals and a good number of epigrams of the Qutb Shahs hold a clear testimony that they adhered to the Twelver's (Asnā -i- ʿAsharī) faith.

37 See letters of Qutb Shahs in Supplement.

38 Ibid

39 Obviously the non Shi'ite world and especially the Mughal Empire could be better feferred as Dār-ul-Ḥarb. For theoritical significance of Dār-ul-Ḥarb (war territory) and Dār-u'ssalām (peace territory) see Hitti 136-138.

40 The full text of the Firman issued in this respect by ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah has been given by Talqani No. 41, also see supplement.

41 Talqani A No.25

42 For a better appreciation of Mujtahid and his function called Ijtihād as upheld differently by Shiahs and Sunnis see Taftāzānī pp. 144, 166-7 Browne IV ch. VIII; Hitti 399,441. Ijtihād by Khālid Anṣārī Bhopāl 1951. For the development of Madrasahs in Ṣafavī Iran see Mufīdī 654-659.

43 Shah Ṭāhir was a Sayyid descending from the Ismaʿilites Sultans of Egypt. His geneology went upto Ābul Qāsim Muḥammad bin ʿAbdullah al-Mihdī. After the fall of the Ismaʿilite dynasty in 457/1065 his ancestors went over to Khwand a village in the vicinity of Qazwin in the year 567/1171. During the last quarter of the 9th century Hijrah Shah Ṭāhir succeeded the mystic seat of his ancestors. Since Shah Ismaʿil Ṣafavī did not like any other mystic order in his dominions except his own and took up to destroy other orders, Shah Ṭāhir chose to migrate from Iran. He possessed a very handsome personality and was an accomplished scholar, a skilful missionary and a veteran teacher all in one. Firishtah II 213-226; Būrhān 251-268. For the history of Ismaʿilites see Hitti 446.

44 Būrhān 254; Firishtah II 22-23; 201, 203 Sherwānī (Q 73 n 102) has pointed out a controversy that Shah Ṭāhir arrived at Aḥmadnagar in

928/1522 according to Firishtah and 926/1520 according to Burhan. As a matter of fact there is no contradiction in the statements of Burhan and Firishtah, as the former clearly states that Shah Ṭahir set out from Iran through sea route early in the month of Jumada I 926/1520 and the next week he reached Dabhol at Goa, while Firishtah states Shah Ṭahir arrived at Aḥmadnagar in 928/1522. Shah Ṭahir spent the intervening period in the territories of Bijapur.

45 Burhan 253-4; Firishtah II 22-23. Sherwani has perhaps missed Burhan's detailed account regarding Shah Ṭahir's earning displeasure of Shah Isma'il and leaving Iran at the advice of Mirza Shah Ḥusayn Iṣfahani while Sherwani observes, 'Burhan says that he was sent as an envoy to Aḥmadnagar by the Ṣafavi monarch'. (Sherwani (Q) 73 n 102; also see Hidayat Ḥosain: Shah Ṭahir of the Deccan published in the volume of Indian and Iranian studies, Bombay 1939).

46 See ch. II Sec. 5

47. The negotiation was so successful that 'Ali Barid handed over the keys of Medak Fort to Sultan Quli without any further resistance. For details see T.Q.S. f 48 (b) to 49 (a); Firishtah II 330; Sherwani: (Q) 34.

48 There is an interesting story about Burhan's conversion to Shi'ism that 'Abdul Qadir his beloved son was seized by high fever. Despite every possible treatment his health deteriorated

and Burhān Nizām Shah lost all hopes of the survival of his son. Shah Ṭāhir picked up a chance and requested Burhān Nizām Shah to pray the holy Imāms and promise to introduce their names in Khutbah in case his son is cured. Thinking that the recovery of ʿAbdul Qādir's health was impossible Burhān Nizām Shah conceded to the suggestion of Shah Ṭāhir. The same night ʿAbdul Qādir recovered his health. This incidence tilted the scales and led Burhān Nizām Shah to foster to Shi'ite faith and adopt it as State Religion (Firishtah II 218-222).

49 Firishtah II, 212, 223

50 Burhān 288

51 Ibid 290-1

52 Of course there is much controversy about the date of his death. We agree with Sherwānī on this issue (Sherwānī (Q) 73, f.n. 102).

53 A.A.A. 109

54 Ḥadāiq f 187 (b)

55 Firishtah II, 342

56 For the life of Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin and his patronisation of scholarship see Zōr: Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin; Devare (168-177) has also given a good account of Mīr Muḥammad Mūmin's patronisation of Iranian intellectuals.

57 See ch. II Sec. 22

58 Naṣrābādī 159; Dabistān 203; Shuzūr II, 395; Rauẓat 21-22; Nujūm 77; M. Albab 110; also Shamsullah (I) 214.

59 See ch. II Sec. 25

60 Dabistān 204; a manuscript entitled kashkūl preserved at No. 16, SJM & L. records the date of his death at (f 10) as Tuesday 5th Jamadi I 1059/19th January 1649. On these folios there are transcriptions of the letters of Kāzim Karim ʿIrāqī who was by that time serving as Dabir in Golconda (Ethe 683).

Moreland observes "At this period sea-going ships were not usually taken far into the Red Sea because the prevailing Southerly winds made the return journey very difficult. Mocha, just inside the Strait of Babel Mandeb was their usual destination, the pilgrims making their way thence to Mecca". (Relations 37)

61 Ḥadīqah 151, 167

62 Ibid 164-165

63 Shamsullah (I) 217 Five of his books (i) Sharḥ-ul-Irshād Aẓhān fī Aḥkām ul Imān (ii) Sharḥ-i-Arbaʿīn (iii) Sharḥ-i-Jāmi-i- ʿAbbāsī (iv) Takmilah-i-Jāmī ʿAbbāsī (v) Kitāb ul Imāmah. Also see Annexure E.

64 The renowned historian Mirzā Nizāmu'ddin Aḥmad Saʿidī Shirāzī author of Ḥadīqat u'ssalāṭīn was one attached to Ibn Khātūn. He is proud of being trained in historiography under Ibn Khātūn (Ḥadīqah 4). Similarly ʿAlī bin Ṭayfūr the historian and scholar too was proud of being his

student (Ḥadīqah f 201 a). The eminent diplomat and Qāzi of Golconda Zahīru'ddin Muḥammad Najafi (Ḥadīqah 167) and Muḥammad ʿAlī Jabal Druzī the author of Majmaʿ ul Amsāl (Majmaʿ-ul-Amsāl f 1 (b) preserved at No.Lughat 76 SJM & L.) was his eminent student. The list of many others should be too long.

65 There are many poems of Sultan Muḥammad Qūlī Quṭb Shah, composed in the Deccani dialect of Urdu, which clearly reflect Sultan's interest in them (Kulliyāt part I 35-148). Also see Fryer I, 276, 277; Fryer II, 79; Ḥadīqah 48, 67.

66 Ibid; For Milād-u'nnabī see Ḥadiqah 59; Kulliyāt, 35 and 11 of its supplement at the end.

67 There are many manuals of ʿUrs entitled Kitāb ul I'rās preserved in S.C.L. and SJM & L. These manuals contain lists of all those saintly personalities whose I'ras were celebrated in the Deccan. It may also be noted that ʿUrs was a festival which was not necessarily celebrated only at the place where Saint's tomb existed. It was also celebrated in absentia of many of those Saints who had been laying at rest in other parts of India and the Middle East.

68 Ḥadīqah 54; The topo sheets of Survey of India indicate ʿĀshūr Khānahs at almost every village of the area which was once under Golconda Sultanate.

69 Ibid 57-58

70 Ibid 59; For the general nature of Hindu festivals see Bāshām 204, 207, 315.

71 Kulliyāt 87-96

72 Kulliyāt 63, 75, 129 and 17, 22 of its supplement at the end.

73 Ṭālqānī No. 25; also see ch. II Sec. 42

74 The Charminar of Yazd was constructed in 720/1348 see Mufīdī 150, 492, 558, 655.

75 T.Q.S. f 113 also see ch. II Sec. 17

FIVE

Traffic of Ideas

Sec. 1 Perspective

A century and three quarters of Interrelation between Qūṭb Shāhī Golconda and Ṣafavī Irān formed a new chapter of a long Indo-Irānian Cultural history. The traffic of ideas between the two had not been a simple and unmixed phenomenon. What it could be termed as the Irānian or as the Golconda in the context of this study was not so much originally the Irānian or the Golconda. The ideas cultural and scientific, in these two regions were both indigenous and foreign and had sustained a pretty long history of idealogical dialecticism synthesis, blending and mutation. There had been occasions when the values of conflicting schools were held in conformity. The peoples of both the countries were active thinkers capable of assimilating foreign ideas and values or even of creating fresh ideas or new values. Like other aspects of this relational study the idealogical relations too were an enormous complex larger than that of any other aspect. It is needless to stress that human thought those days was so closely linked

up with religion and religious cosmology that there had been hardly any thought or value independent of religion whether in Golconda or in Irān. Both ideas and values were theocentric. Therefore to appreciate and understand them it is necessary to know their religious background.

The ideas in Golconda were of as many types as there had been castes and tribes which were profoundly influenced by Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, the cult of the Lingayatas and ultimately Christianity and Islam. In addition to religious influences there are distinct impressions of the Egyptian, the Greek and the Chinese cultures on art and architecture. By the period of this study, most of the above influences had lost their distinct individuality, yet Brahmanism, Hinduism and the Lingayat sects survived assimilating and preserving some of the elements of the above religious and ethenic schools. Nevertheless the nomadic aboriginal tribes held their own cult and creed of a primitive nature and obscure origin.

No social intercourse between any two groups is possible without something common or identical with the groups in contact. It is interesting that even the tribes of less recognition and obscure individuality had some ideas and social practices which were identical to great schools of thought and faith like Buddhism, Hinduism et cetera or with foreign schools like that of Christianity and Islam.

Iran too had its own original ideas and values which she cherished over centuries while she was no less competent in assimilating foreign influences. As she owed to a common racial origin with India in so far as her Aryan stock was concerned so with them she inherited elements of religion from which Brahmanism and Hinduism flourished. The great predominent religion of Iranians upto the advent of Islam in Iran was Zoroastrianism. There had been a good number of tribes scattered all over the country having their individual systems of faith. Specially those in the parts of Āzarbaijān were heathen and iconolaters even till late upto 16th century A.D.[1] Iran had also received considerable influence from China, Egypt and Greece. There had been two periods of her receiving Hellenistic influence. In the first instance from 480 B.C. which continued in one way or the other upto the rise of the Sassanian dynasty.[2] In the second instance it affected her indirectly through Islam from 9th century onwards. Above all, Islam affected Iranian life so much that it almost changed total personality of Iran. Christianity and Judaism too were not strangers to Iranian society and were firmly institutionalised in Iran.

Under the above influences the idealogical mind of Safavi Iran was basically composed of the ethnic Aryans and Zoroastrian elements further invigorated by Hellenism and all developing with an Islamic orientation.

Islam as it developed in Iranian environment still awaits a specialised study. Nevertheless there had developed a good number of disciplines of Hellenistic origin and Islamic orientation as well as a series of scholastic doctrines. The influence of such disciplines and doctrines both in the spheres of humanities and physical sciences was being imported to India and some parts of the Deccan right from the advent of the muslims in India. The Bahmani kingdom especially from the times of Firoz Shah and subsequently under Mahmud Gawan played a leading role in importing such thoughts and values from the Middle East. But the Telugu speaking area of the Deccan was not completely under Bahmani sway. Therefore it could only partially be affected by them.

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah had advanced a claim that he was the first to introduce Islam in the Telugu speaking regions. It sounds rather fantastic yet it is not without an element of truth. It is a fact that the influence of Iranian and Middle-Eastern cultures was constant, intensive and wide-spread throughout the Golconda Sultanate. It would be rather fashionable to say that the idealogical and doctrinal influence of the Middle-East flourishing in Golconda through the channel of its relations with Iran was but Islamic. It was much too sophisticated and embellished a phenomenon which can be sorted out at least into the following broad categories of idealogical influx.

a Perso-Islamic

b Greco-Islamic

c Arab-Islamic

The influx of all the above idealogical complexes was not initially introduced as it was rather intensified in Golconda. The immediate recipient sector of population was representative of Indo-Islamic culture which had developed during the past few centuries. The Indo-Islamic culture and civilisation had attained a conscious level of its development by the 16th and 17th centuries, especially in Mughal India. Its development in the Deccan was more realistic but since it was entangled with many other issues of social adjustments it could not have received an objective attention.[3]

PERSO-ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Sec. 2 Zoroastrianism

Zoroastrianism goes back to a time 'before the Aryans divided into Indian and Iranian branches'. It was therefore equally shared by the Aryan stock of Indian population with their Iranian counterparts. Though it did not continue as a cult in India yet it had its impact on various articles of faith and rituals of Hindus, that had been a direct impact of Zoroastrianism on Hinduism in ancient times.[4] This may be treated as the first stage of influence. The second stage of

the Zoroastrian influence in India at large and especially in Golconda was indirect through the influx of Iranian muslims. The Zoroastrian dialecticism of good (K̄hayr) and evil (S̄har) was partially recognised by Quran as two conflicting institutions created by One God and not by two Gods themselves.[5] Man, according to Islam, was endowed with the capacity to do both good and evil with a divine ego capable of assuming all good and avoiding all evil while evil was represented by another unseen creature of the One God. Evil was embodied in an unseen entity or faculty called Satan (S̄hayṭān)[6], the existence of which has been recognised both objective as well as subjective with man. The dualism of Zoroastrians (Zartasht) or Ahurmuzda or Hurmūz was thoroughly discarded by The Quran through its repeated profession of One God.[7]

The Quranic terms of K̄hayr and S̄har imbued Zoroastrian spirit quite quickly in the Iranian environment. By the time under this observation, that influence had penetrated so deeply that K̄hayr and S̄har were always referred with their interaction. A close examination of this dialecticism, largely employed in the religious and ethical literature of Ṣafavī Iran, should reveal that the two factors were virtually recognised as equals. Even the Persian literature and poetry produced in contemporary Iran or Golconda had this dialecticism as the basis of their art of argumentation. This logic was current in Iran and Golconda not only in academic discussions

relating to religion and ethics but it was also a general criterion for the judgement on the dealings of a person and community.

There have of course been some valuable discussions on this issue in Golconda which indicate a departure from the traditional, 'ethically arrested' and didactic significance of K͞hayr and S͞har. Some of Golconda thinkers made a bold effort of propelling relative theories of K͞hayr and S͞har. As manifested in human character, neither good nor evil could be absolute. Therefore the two were relative and their relative significance may, on occasions, change to such degrees as to render them as equivalents or in particular situations an evil may be better than good or a good may be worse than an evil.[8]

The dialecticism of good and evil was responsible to mould the religious, ethical and philosophic thinking and thought of Golconda. It also smoothened the ways of idea-logical exchanges with various thinking communities of the Sultanate and those of Iran.

Sec. 3 The Art of Administration

The structural administration of Golconda was a combination of Indian and Iranian systems. The broad regional, agrarian, industrial and commercial administration was a valuable asset of Vijayanagar empire inherited by Qūṭb Shahs.

The superstructure of officialdom, including official personnel, practices and procedure was initially a continuation of Perso-Bahmani system as introduced by Sultan Qūlī Qūṭb Shah with his own modifications. Subsequently the superstructure of Golconda officialdom was completely Iranianised. That process entailed a heavy traffic of administrative personnel and ideas from Iran. This fact can be observed from three points of view viz., i) institutional, ii) procedural and iii) that of personnel.

i) INSTITUTIONAL

The administrative institutions at the centre in Golconda show Iranian influences. Such institutions included both consultative bodies as well as administrative agencies.

The highest consultative body in Golconda was the Majlis,[9] an institution which had its roots in Iran from times immemorial.[10] The Majlis of Golconda was a perfect imitation of its Iranian counterpart, in respect of its structure, functions and significance. Apart from this consultative body of administrators, the political elite and literati, the institutions of Peshwa and Mīr Jūmlā were the highest administrative offices. It is doubtful whether the two posts ever existed in Iran but both were evolved in Golconda to serve as a single agency for carrying out a

twofold idealogy of the Ṣafavī movement, firstly the Shi'ite religious idealogy and secondly the Ṣafavī political policy. The institution of Peshwa which was originally a religious one, received a political and administrative character in Golconda, which had been a concrete example of the influence of Iranian ideas.[11] The office of Mir Jumlá was also an invention of Golconda that was as good as the office of Peshwa excluding his religious leadership. Below them the offices of Sarkhayl, Sarlashkar Hājib (Chamberlane), Dabīr-ul-Mulk Mūshrif-ul-Mūlk, Sipah Sālār, Silahdār, Sarlashkar, Qāzī, Āmil, Tahvildār, Shah Bandār, Qilādār down to Massah, Zamin Pyma were institutions of Iranian origin, both in nomenclature and functions.[12]

Besides, the institutions of civil and military administration of the Sultanate, the institution of the royal palace with its personnel too was of Iranian pattern.[13]

ii) PROCEDURAL

The administration of Golconda was not so much a paper administration as that of Mughals but all important administrative actions, judicial decisions, official and private transactions were recorded on paper. No doubt some important documents, like Firman, were issued in Hindavi language also but Persian was the language of administration. The administrative language and the documentary procedure, both being Iranian, encouraged influx of Iranian administrative ideas at various levels of society in Golconda.

Administrative language and procedure affected the society to such an extent that it had its distinct bearing on Telugu language in many ways.[14]

The administrative documents issued through the agencies (Parvānāgi) of eminent administrator, the various deeds and bonds executed at the office of the Qāzī, procedure of governing and protecting public and private transactions, the Book of Protocol (Tashrīfāt), the Rules of Majlis (Qānūn-i-Majlis) and other important instruments which determined administrative procedure all show Iranian affiliations.

iii) PERSONNEL

It need not be repeated here that most of the administrative personnel in Golconda Sultanate was drawn from Iranian stock.[15] This observation has been focused to appreciate how the Iranian personnel served a channel for the traffic of ideas and affected the society. It had been a fact that the administrative personnel of Golconda included Iranians of high intellectual calibre and were experts of war or civil and military administration. They were politicians or diplomats, wizards of international trade or eminent scholars; expert physicians, engineers, architects, poets, painters or craftsmen. They were the vehicles or channels of importing all sorts of ideas which developed into contemporary Iran. Those ideas related to

all those categories arranged for observation in this chapter.

On occasions the exceptional talents and capacities of such administrators, special posts had to be created in Golconda. The post of Peshwa which was a combination of religious and political leadership was created for the versatile personality of men like Mustafā Khān, Mir Mūḥammad Mumin and Ibn Khātūn.

It may be kept in view that throughout a century and three quarters of the life of the Sultanate most of the administrative personnel of higher ranks was always drawn directly from Iran. The presence of naturalised and Golconda-born Iranians served a permanent channel for the influx of men and ideas from Iran.

Sec. 4 Education

By the 16th century, education system in Iran had developed at a large scale. It underwent changes in character at various stages from the advent of Islam in the country. It had assimilated the Arabic, the Hellenistic and the indigenous elements in its structure and spirit. The network of this enormous system was inherited by the Ṣafavīs, who though did not effect any major change in the system but set it in a new direction of producimg Shiah divines or mujtahids. The new orientation partially affected its career.[16]

The colleges (madrasāhs) of Islamic character were instituted in Golconda during the reign of Qūṭb Shahs and served as an important agency for the diffusion of ideas and knowledge which had developed in Iranian environment.

There had been some notable colleges (madrasahs) in Golconda as Madrasah-i-Ibn K̄hātūn and Madrasāh-i-Hayāt Bak̄hs̄hī Begum. There was also a medical college madrasah-i-Dār-u'sh̄s̄hifa established by Sultan Mūḥammad Qūli Qūṭb Shah.[17] The curriculum taught at the Madrasah of Ibn K̄hātūn included detailed courses of reflective (ma'qūlāt) and narrative (manqūlāt) branches of knowledge. The curriculum comprised:

The commentaries of Quran (Tafasir);
The traditions of Prophet (Aḥādiṣ);
Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh);
Philosophy, Logic and Mathematics;
Arabic and Persian literature.[18]

In the medical college of Dār-u'sh̄s̄hifa the curricula of medicine and the result of education imparted there may be judged from the fund of medical literature produced in Golconda.[19]

Golconda colleges produced scholars like Mir-i-Miran son of Qāzī Zahīr-u'ddin Mūḥammad who rose to the position of royal epistolarian (dabīrī-i-huzūr),[20] Mūḥammad Ali Jabal Druzi,[21] the author of Majma-ul-Āmṣāl and probably Ali bin Tayfur the author of many books.[22]

The curricula for the education of princes was somewhat different and comprised the following subjects obviously in addition to curricula meant for common people.

i) The art of governance (Qawāid-i-Jahāndarī)
ii) Administration of justice (ma'dālāt-wa-Nisfat)
iii) Comity of nations (Ādāb-i-Gītī)
iv) The laws of Majlis (Qānūn-i-Majlis)
v) Court procedure (Dīwān dārī)
vi) Royal customs (Marāsim-i-Pādshāhī)
vii) Military organisation (Ihtimām-i-Asākir)
viii) Military training[23]

The language of education was Persian and the books of syllabi were those written in Iran and most of the teachers were Iranians. There were perhaps a few exceptions like Mullah Wajhi (Wajīhī) who was a Deccani. Among the tutors of Abdullah Qūṭb Shah there were men like Mir Qūṭbu'ddin Ni'matullah Shīrazī. Among others were the sadats like Mirzā Sharif Shahristani, Khwajah Muzaffar 'Ali, and Maulānā Husayn Shīrazī.[24]

A close observation of the situation reveals that Iran was the source of intellectual light. It was a model and an ideal in education and administration or fairly well in all walks of life of the nobility. The educational set up organised for the nobility in Golconda smoothened ways

for the new generation competently to receive the changing ideas imported from Iran and in turn to make its own contribution.[25]

GRECO-ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Sec. 5 Nature and Scope

The Quran and Ḥadiṣ were the veritable gifts of Islam, the pristine purity of which was safeguarded by its early puritan adherents. It was received by the Arabs as a divine guide of a didactic nature. Subsequently with its political and idealogical expansion Islam came in contact with various civilisations. Though its dogmatic finality appeared to be too rigid, its innate compromising spirit, with everything which might not be inconsistent with its nature, made it imbibe a considerable influence of Indo-Iranian and more so of Hellenistic civilisations.[26] Especially from 9th century A.D. onwards there developed a practice of rendering Hellenic literature of all sorts in Arabic.[27] The natural corollary of such an embracement of two cultures was the appearance of a number of new scholastic thinkers of various disciplines in a composite muslim society of Arabs, Iranians and Turks from Transoxiana to Cairo. This new intellectual emergence was scrupulously responded by the contemporary muslim society, yet it was responsible for the development of various disciplines like logic, philosophy, theology, mysticism, mathematics,

astronomy, medicine rhetorics, literary criticism, art and architecture. The nucleus of these sciences, if not the main stuff, was borrowed from Hellenic or Hellenistic and Indian heritage and they developed with a fresh setting with Islamic orientation. The ideas and idealogy of such composition have been referred to here as Greco-Islamic.

Such Greco-Islamic disciplines developed from the 9th century and determined the educational system, the scope of intellectual activities and social conduct of muslim society.

Hellenism had already influenced India and the Telugu speaking South covered by Golconda, centuries before the advent of Islam. That can be treated as the first stage of Hellenism in Golconda.[28] The second stage of Hellenism in Golconda was through the influx of Greco-Islamic disciplines and ideas throughout the period of this study. The first stage of influence appeared to be more on art and architecture while the second was mainly of an idealogical character. The educational system, the ethics, the scholastic philosophy, medicine and other sciences introduced by the Iranians in Golconda Sultanate were not so much Iranian in character as those were basically Greco-Islamic. It need not be stressed here that Aristotalian and Platonic thoughts had become foundation in muslim, politics, ethics, logic and philosophy. Their names and ideas had reached Golconda through various disciplinal channels. In addition to them there had been

scores of the names of Hellenistic thinkers physicians, astronomers, mathematicians and others who were known to the intellectuals of Golconda with such frequency that the lexicographers of Golconda included their names with many variations in their Persian lexicons.[29] Such Hellenistic names were in Arabicised and Persianised forms with variations which render it difficult to find their Anglican forms. Nevertheless some of the important Hellenistic lights, whose works were studied or whose ideas were appreciated in Golconda may be tabulated below

i) THINKERS

Pythagoras (Fisaghoras)	6th century B.C.
Socrates (Suqratis)	d. 399 B.C.
Plato (Aflatun)	d. 347 B.C.
Aristotle (Aristo)	d. 322 B.C.
Anaxagoras (Abaghoras)	
Diogenes (Diyojans)	2nd century B.C.
Pliny (Balinas)	100 A.D.

ii) PHYSICIANS

Hippocrates (Buqrat)	460 B.C.
Asclepius (Asqaliyus)	3rd century B.C.
Galen (Jalinus)	200 A.D.

iii) MATHEMATICIANS

Archimedes (Arshimidas)	d. 212 B.C.
Almagest (Al Majsiti)	d. 150 B.C.

iv) POETS and GRAMMARIANS

Homer (Omars)	d. 350 B.C.
Zeno (Zinon)	d. 261 B.C.
Aristarchus (Arastassas)	d. 160 B.C.[30]

Apart from these general influences of Hellenism there had been the Greco-Islamic idealogical influence through the channels of some specific disciplines a few major of which shall be briefly appraised.

Sec. 6 Ethics

Ethics (Makarim-ul-Akhlāq) briefly referred to as Akhlāq, had been basically Hellenistic, the main source of which was Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics. No doubt this discipline was more Greek in its early stage as in Akhlāq-i-Nāsirī of Nasiru'ddin Tusi (d. 1274 A.D.); gradually it was Islamicised as done by Jalalu'ddin Dawwani (d. 908/1502-3) in his Lawāmi ul-ishrāq fi makarim il-akhlāq popularly known as Akhlāq-i-Jalālī; yet the basic Hellenistic substance of it was the same with an Islamic orientation given under the articles of the Quran and Hadis. The third stage of Akhlāq was the Iranianisation of its Greco-Islamic character as may be seen through Akhlāq-i-Muḥsinī of Husayn al Kashifi (d. 910/1504-5)[31] Ethical works of all these three stages had reached Golconda. Its earlier Greco-Islamic literature was held in respect and was referred to as classics. But

its third phase with an Iranianised character was the one which developed both in Iran and Golconda. The last phase also bore a distinct mark of Shi'ite influence. It rendered the works of ethics as collections of parables and anecdotes arranged according to the moral laws of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) further supplemented with some of the Prophetic traditions (Ḥadis̤). The ethical propositions are in the forms of aphorisms and maxims which are couched in brief but effective wording. The parables and anecdotes relate to the early characters of Iranian History or the immaculate Imāms, yet there are a few relating to Arab Islamic authorities and Hellenistic characters.

Ethics in its earlier Greco-Islamic stage embraced, in its two wings of theoritical (Nāzarī) and practical (ʿAmalī) knowledge, the issues like Morality, civilisation, statecraft, phycological problems of the development of personality, rules for a proper habitude and above all the complicated issue of epistymology. In its third stage it was rather denuded loosing its scientific character both in Iran and Golconda. But the important issues which were dealt by it in its earliest stages, were treated separately in the form of treatises contributed independently. Such treatises produced in Golconda are awkwardly scattered and if put together they may afford a better picture of its growth in the Sultanate.[32] It may be noted that the growth

of Fiqh literature was gradually replacing ethics especially in respect of habitude and social behaviour and so Hellenic was being substituted by the Islamic. That had been a natural corollary of Safavi movement's drastic process of idealogical revision from Shi'ite and Iranian points of view. Golconda followed Iran as a sincere disciple.

Sec. 7 Scholastic Philosophy

The most creative product of the intercourse of Islam with Hellenism was perhaps the development of Scholastic Philosophy through a good number of schools which commenced from the period of ʻAbbāsīs (750 A.D.) onwards.[33] It had been the result of a sanguine effort of bringing the Islamic values, which were accepted as the product of divine or prophetic thought, in compromise with the Hellenic process of thinking. That had been a way of preoccupied and theocentric speculation. Iran had been the cradle of such movements the basic literature of which was mainly recorded in Arabic. Among the main scholastic movements were the Mu tazilāh, the Mutakallimīn, the ʻAshāʻirāh, Ishrāqīn, Falasafah and others.[34] The involvement of faith with philosophic deliberations assigned an elastic and assimilating character to muslim thinking which had to endure many more situations in Arabia, Iran, the regions of Transoxiana and India.

Such Greco-Islamic or muslim scholastic thought was brought to the soils of Golconda by the Qūṭb Shahs. The

Golconda elite earnestly partook in such philosophic discusions. The scholastic philosophy, which had been tending to assume a more liberal character through a few centuries, was drastically checked both by Iran and Golconda from a Shi'ite point of view.

The main subjects of discussion taken up by the scholastic groups were

a) The 'Being' or the subsistance of a thing
b) The views on atom
c) The reality of motion
d) God, His incorporeality and attributes
e) The theory of eternal (Qadīm) and Originated (Ḥadīṣ)
f) The beatific vision (Tajallī) of Allah
g) The reality of human action

There had been these and many other subjects of serious discussion. Though the list of muslim scholastic thinkers is ponderous yet thouse whose thoughts were specially appreciated in Golconda were Mūḥammad bin Yā qūb Kulāynī (d. 329/941),[35] Shaikh Mufīd (d. 413/1022),[36] Sayyīd Murtazā ʿAlam ul Hūdā (d. 436/1044),[37] Nāsīru'ddīn Tūsī (d. 672/1274),[38] Jamālu'ddin Mūtahhar (d. 726/1325),[39] Sa'du'ddin Taftazani (d. 791/1389),[40] Sayyīd Sharīf Jurjānī (d. 816/1413),[41] Mūllāh Alau'ddin ʿAlī Qushchi of the nineth century Hijra[42] Jalālu'ddin Dawwānī (d. 908/1502-3)[43] Sadru'ddin Shirazi (d. 1050/1640).[44]

The fact, that the thoughts of all of them and specially those of Nāsīru'ddin Tusi owed to a great extent to Hellenism, was well known to the thinkers of Golconda. Some of them went to the extent of arguing that Aristotle was a prophet.[45] The authorities representing Shi'ite commentaries of scholastic philosophy, who received much attention in Golconda, besides Tusi, were Sayyīd Mūrtazā ʿAlam-ul-Hūdā and Mūllāh Sadru'ddin Shirazi.

The first important work introducing scholastic thought was the Tabsirat ul ʿAwām Fī Maʿrifatī Maqālāt ulʿAnām of Sayyīd Mūrtazā ʿAlam ul Hūdā (d. 436/1044) who was the great grandson of the seventh Imām Musa-al-Kāzim[46] ʿAlam-ul-Hūdā, neatly introduced various scholastic groups and made it clear that the ideas of the chief propellers like Avicenna (BuʿAli Sīnā) Abu Nasr Fārābī and other thinkers owed to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, Pythogoras and many other Hellenic and Egyptian thinkers.[47] He thoroughly evaluated the thoughts of Falasafahs, Mutazilahs and Ṣufiyāhs in a detached and objective way.

A significant contribution to the introduction of scholastic philosophy in Golconda was made by Mūḥammad Amin bin Mūḥammad Sharīf Astarabadi (d. 1033/1623-4) who was an eminent scholar and the founder of Akhbari School. His Dānish Nāmah-i-Shahi is an important document on the subject which he recorded at the instance of Sultan Mūḥammad Qūṭb Shah. Mūḥammad Amīn's objective was more theological than

philosophical. He contributed the work as a guide for the community called Firqah-i-Nājiah who sought renunciation and hence right path.[48] He has classified the scholastic thinkers into Ishrāqiyyīn (or Illuminati) Ṣufīyāh, Mütasharri'īyn and Mütakallīmīn. The Mūtakallīmīn have been further classified as Ashā irāh, Mu tazilah and Ūsūliyyīn. He has also introduced the group of Māshshayis and Akhbāriyyīn. His information is based on authorities introduced above.[49]

Mūḥammad Amīn contended that the Mūtakallīmīn based their thought on rational thinking (Afkār-i-ʿAqliyāh) and introduced a new discipline called Kalām. The Māshshayīn, according to him, were the followers of Aristotle, Ishrāqiyyīn were Platonists.[50] He neither fully appreciates scholastic philosophy nor totally discards it. He fixes up a criterion of admitting only such thoughts and ideas which were in conformity with the sayings of immaculate Imāms and the traditions (Aḥadīṣ) received through them. According to him the followers of immaculate Imām too indulged into Scholastic Philosophy but the Imāms always advised them to abstain from Kalām and Fiqh as both were based on rational observations (Anẓār-i- ʿAqāliyāh). Thus to indulge into philosophy, subject to such restrictions on thought, was the way of Akhbāriyyīn. That had been a sort of pseudo-puritanical approach of stimulating liberal thinking on one hand and arresting it with the dogmatic traditions on the other. Such restrictions on

thinking were imposed by Akhbāriyyīn till such time the hidden Imam would reappear.[51]

The issues on which the Akhbāriyyīn built up a way different from those of the general scholastic thinkers and ṣufīs were centering round the main issues of 'Being' the existence of God, Freewill and the nature of human action. They held that the subjective approach of general scholastic thinkers respecting 'Being' as a Unicity was not able to obtain the sanction of the traditions laid by the Holy Imāms. They believed in the twoness of the 'Being' and held the God and the Universe as two independent existences objectively exposed to each other.[52] Mūḥammad Amīn further carried the discussion on 'Being' involving it into relativity of conception and perception. He ultimately concludes that the objective existence of the universe was visual and original whereas the subjective existence was reflective imaginary and secondary.[53] The Akhbāriyyīn discard the monotheistic conception of Waḥdat-ul-Wūjūd which impersonifies God and takes him as the beginning and the end of 'Being'[54]. That attitude represented a contrast with that of the ṣufīs. It is interesting to note that the nature of difference between the Shi'ite thinkers and sunnī sufis much resembled the differences between the Saivites and the orthodox Vaisnuvites.

A corollary of the above discussion was a further controversy on the reality of human action which according to

scholastic thinkers was the manifestation of divine will. Man therefore was not ultimately responsible for his action. Specially the Ashā'irite tended to exonerate man from his commitments whether right or wrong. The Akhbāri thinkers of Golconda vehemently opposed the contention and advanced a series of arguments to support a notion that the actions of man like man himself were created by God and in no way reflected the divine Will. They were the expression of human Will as God's creature.[55]

The above few aspects of scholastic thinking as developed in Golconda reveal that it was developing on the same lines as it developed in contemporary Iran. The nature of thought was more rigid traditional, objective and rational as against the scholastic thought developed in the Middle East during the preceding centuries. It had discarded inferences and values of Hellenistic nature yet the whole system of its reasoning was basically Hellenic.

Sec. 8 Medicine

There had been nothing so perfectly Greek in Golconda as the medicinal system which was rightly called Greek (Ūnānī). The Government patronised the Greek medicinal system by the devices of inviting eminent physicians from Iran, encouraging medicinal researches and by establishing medical institutions.

i) EMINENT PHYSICIANS

No doubt the Greek (Ūnānī) medical system was not the only system in vogue in the Sultanate as the Indian (Hindi) physicians and medicinal system were encouraged on par with the Greek. But the Greek system found its way in Golconda through two channels, firstly through the Irani physicians (Ḥakīms) who were the experts of Greco-Arab medicines and secondly through the European physicians who too had their medicinal knowledge from Greco-Arab traditions but had subsequently developed it in a different atmosphere.[56]

Almost all the experts of Greco-Arab (Ūnānī) medicinal system had come from Iran. Many of them were officially invited by the Qūṭb Shahs.

MIR MŪḤAMMAD MUMIN

The renowned Qūṭb Shahi Peshwa Mir Mūḥammad Mumin was much interested in the promotion of medicine and medicinal research. There is no evidence of his personally indulging into clinical practices but his knowledge of medicine was quite scholarly. He patronised several medical scholars and encouraged medicinal research.[57]

SHAMSU'DDIN

Ḥakīm Shamsu'ddin ʿAli Al Ḥusaynī hailed from Jurgan (Gorgan). He was attached to the court of Mūḥammad Quli Qūṭb

Shah. He encouraged many medicinal research projects taken up by eminent physicians.[59]

HAKĪM SAFIU'DDIN MŪHAMMAD

He hailed from Gilam and was appointed as the court physician of Mūhammad Quli Qūṭb Shah. He was specialist in aphrodisiac medicine.[60]

TAQIU'DDIN MŪHAMMAD

He was the court physician of Sultan Mūhammad Qūṭb Shah and was an expert Pharmocologist.[61]

IBN ʻIMAD RUZBIHAN

He was an administrator and a member of the renowned Ruzbihan family of Isfahan. The cyclopaedic range of his interest made him indulge into medicine as well. He showed his interest in pharmacology to which branch he made some contribution. He held the position of Sarkhayl under Mūhammad Qūṭb Shah.[62]

HAĪM ISMAIL

He was attached to the court of Abdullah Qūṭb Shah and attended the aristocracy.[63]

HAKĪM GABRIEL

Hakīm Gabriel was an Armenian and adhered to the

Nestorian faith of Christianity. He was the court physician of Abdullah Qūṭb Shah. He died in Golconda in the year 1045/1635.[64]

HAKĪM NIZAMU'DDIN

Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk Ḥakīm Nizāmu'ddin was perhaps greatest of the medical scholars of Golconda. He hailed from Gilan and was a student of Bahau'ddin Āmuli (d. 1031/1621) and Shamsu'ddin Mūḥammad Baqir Damad (d. 1040/1630). He completed his education and received a degree in various branches of medicine and philosophy on 14th Shābān 1023/9th September 1614. When first came to India he joined the retinue of the Mughal Chief Mahābat Khan known as Khān-i-Khānān. In the year 1044/1634 on the death of Mahābat Khan he intended to leave for Iran. But he was invited by Abdullah Qūṭb Shah and appointed as the Royal physician in place of late Hakim Gabriel.

Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk contributed to the promotion of Greco-Arab medicine in Golconda in many ways. His was a versatile person. He served Golconda as a physician, a scholar, a statesman and as an ambassador. He died in Golconda.

HAKIM ABDUL JABBAR

He hailed from Gilan and was the court physician of Abdullah Quṭb Shah in the year 1049/1639 he was appointed as Mūnshī-ul-Mūmālīk also.[66]

MIRZA ABUL QĀSĪM

He hailed from Shiraz and was attached to the court of Shah ʿAbbās II. He was invited by Abdullah Qūṭb Shah in 1076/1665.[67]

KARIMA YAZDI

Ḥakīm Abdul Karīm of Yazd was a renowned Iranian physician and was attached to the court of Shah Safi Safavi. He was invited to Golconda by Abdullah Qūṭb Shah. He remained in Golconda till his death in 1075/1664. His body was being carried to Iran by his son Mirza Mūḥammad Ibrahim, but he too died in a shipwreck.[68]

KHULQI SHUSTARI

Mullah Khulqi Shustari visited Golconda twice during the reign of Mūḥammad Quli Qūṭb Shah. During his next visit in about 1027/1618 he was appointed as professor in the medical college of Dārū'shshifā. For over twenty years he taught there, besides medicine, subjects like mathematics and other reflective (maʿqūl) and descriptive (manqūl) disciplines. He was also appointed as the member of Majlis by Abdullah Qūṭb Shah. He died in Golconda in 1047/1637.[69]

This is a brief list of those Ḥakīms who had contributed to the diffusion of Greco-Arab medicine in Golconda either as exceptionally skilful clinicians or as

medical scholars.

ii) MEDICINAL RESEARCH

Studies in different branches of medicinal science were encouraged in Golconda. Such studies were carried out either by directly indulging into a research project or by translating authoritative Arabic works into Persian. All the classical works like that of Avicenna, Rhazes, Zainu'ddin Attar and fundamental medicinal theories of Hippocrates and Galen had been imported to Golconda apparently both for educational purposes and clinical references.

It is a fact that Golconda did not make any remarkable contribution to Greco-Arab medicine. It just imported the traditional system of Iran and introduced it at a large scale in the Sultanate. The scientific interest shown by the Hakims of Golconda appears to have been centred round pharmacology. A little attention, of course, had been paid to Pathalogy, Therapeutics and Hygiene. The contemporary Iranian physician and Surgeon Ḥakīm Shifāī (d. 1627) had shown appreciable interest in Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery. None of the Golconda physicians showed a similar interest. There are a few casual papers relating to Anatomy which cannot be treated as original or profound. Nevertheless such papers are helpful in tracing out how that aspect of Greco-Arab medicine, both in theory and clinical practice, was introduced in Golconda.

In the discipline of Pharmacology attention has been paid to introduce the Greco-Arab methods of assaying both simple and compound drugs. In that effort many such drug ingredients were introduced which were found in the Middle-East. The introduction of such drugs had been a natural corollary of Persian translations or commentaries of the works originally produced in Iran for other parts of Middle-East. In respect of simple drugs the following facts were generally traced

a) The Arabic name of the drug ingredient and its Persian or Indian equivalent if it could be obtained by the scientists.

b) The general description of the plant the ore or the animal from which a vegetative mineral or animal drug could be obtained.

c) The colour, the taste, the smell and the nature of the substance as liquid, solid or viscous.

d) The chemical and physical reaction in relation to air, water, fire and earth.

e) Its reaction on human body when compounded with other simple drugs.

f) Its counterparts which can increase or neutralise its effect.

Every drug ingredient which was extracted from a vegetable or animal or mineral source was treated as simple ingredient till it was artificially mixed and processed with a similar one or more ingredients.[70]

The process of compound drugs by grinding, heating, burning, distilling, squeezing etc., were all introduced through the Pharmacopeias of compound drugs. The standard forms of Greco-Arab compound drugs introduced in Golconda were

a) Electuaries (Maʿajin)
b) Liquids (ʿAraq)
c) Powders (Sūfūf)
d) Tablets (Qurṣ)
e) Pills (Hubūb)
f) Ointments (Marham)[71]

An enormous fund of recipes suggesting all sorts of compound medicine to cure various diseases was imported from Iran and assayed in Golconda. It is interesting that Galen, specially Avicenna and Attar were taken as the ultimate authorities on medicine and wherever a Golconda physician experienced his findings in conformity with the finding of these authorities he would record in his anthology that his

experiment was in conformity with the Canon (qānūn) or Minhaj.[72]

The issue of weights and measures had become somewhat complicated and confusing during the seventeenth century. Standardised medicinal prescriptions were not possible without a standard system of minute weights. This difficult problem was solved by Mir Mūḥammad Mumin in Golconda who contributed Risālāh-i-Miqdārīyāh a valuable manual of all minor and heavy weights in vogue.[73]

Respecting specialised branches of pharmacology, attention has been paid to ocular and aphrodisiac medicine. It was the latter category of medicines which received special attention in respect of which not only Greco-Arab medicinal formulae were assayed but also the Indian branch of aphrodisiac medicine and sex manuals were rendered into Persian.[74]

Little is known about the fact how far the Greco-Arab and the Indian medicinal systems were affected by each other. It is a fact that the Indian physicians had a position in the Qūṭb Shahi Court on par with the Iranian.[75]

Greco-Arab pathological observations and therapeutic treatments should have been lost with the clinical records of Government hospitals and private dispensaries. A few anthologies indicate the methods adopted by the Ḥakīms of

Golconda. Keeping the following factors in view while diagnosing a disease

a) the physiology and the disposition of the patient

b) the syndrome of the disease;

c) special observation of the internal and external organs and the point of trouble

d) category of disease in the light of therapeutic manuals of Avicenna and other authorities.[76]

Hippocratic principle'prevention is better than cure,' was hpheld by all Ḥakīms. They laid much emphasis on observing the principles of sound habits and hygiene. Hygienic slogans for the upkeep of health were formulated and manuals for maintaining health were written with appreciable details such as the upkeep of body by observing hygienic principles, cares to be taken during the changing seasons, sex habits; the food habit and especially the use of aphrodisiac medicines, liquors and rich diets.[77]

iii) MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS

Apart from the private medical institutions maintained by various Ḥakīms we are in the know of at least one major institution named Dārū'shshifā which was established

and run by the government. Dārū'shshifā had been a hospital with a medical college and several other ancillary institutions like hostels, mosques, caravan serai and bath. The entire Dārū'shshifā complex (some parts of which still survive) appear to have been constructed over an area of about ten acres. The building of the hospital is two storeyed set up on a plinth area of 15000 sq.feet with a square open yard inside. The complex had the following sections.

1. An out patient dispensary with rooms for storing and processing medicines for physicians, who were of course of different ranks and also space for out patients to wait.

2. There appear from the ruins of the building an accommodation of 140 rooms with verandahs for inpatients.

3. The mosque which is outside the hospital building is in a good state of preservation. Besides, there were

4. medical college (madrasah-i-Dārū'shshifā)

5. cāravān serai for ailing people coming from distances.

6. Baths attached to Cāravān seraīs.

All the above institutions from hospital to the bath were equipped with able and efficient staff. The physicians had a double function of attending to the clinic and imparting education to the medical students. This institution was constructed by Sultan Mūḥammad Quli Qūṭb Shah by 1004/1595-6.[78]

Royal physicians had generally to attend court and should have been having their institution near the royal palace. Moreover knowledge of medicine was not the exclusive prerogative of professional Ḥakīms. Administrators like Mir Mūḥammad Mumin, Ibn Khatun and even the monarchs took active interest in assaying drug ingredients and formulating new research for which they had to have their own laboratories.

ARAB-ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Sec. 9 The nature and scope

As remarked earlier the most valuable gifts of Arab-Islamic society were the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet of Islam presented with a claim that the two shall serve as the fundamental guide for the entire mankind for all times to come. No originality has been claimed by Quran as it has styled itself to be a final and authenticated revelation of all the divine scriptures revealed ever before and were tampered by their recipient societies. The Traditions are supplemental and explanatory to the Quran and its spirit. For the natural reason of their being initiated and operated in Arabia, both were involved in Arab

history. Yet when received by non-Arab peoples like Turks and Iranians both the doctrinal instruments underwent such conscious or unconscious processing as to fully or partially disengage themselves from Arab history. That process allowed their general and universal character to be elucidated so they became adaptable in different societies. These two mainsprings of Islam were not entirely unknown to the Telugu speaking society before Quṭb Shahs. From even pre Bahmani days many ṣūfī saints had settled in what was later the kingdom of Golconda. Their shrines became the seats of sufi preachings and their noble work was continued by their successors (Khalīfāhs).[79] That was a purely mystical intercourse which might have partially affected and stimulated the Saivite society and could be treated as the first stage of Arab-Islamic influence in Golconda.

The second stage was of course developed by the Quṭb Shahs on a broader and formal basis which covered the entire Telugu speaking region. At this stage the Islam introduced by Quṭb Shahs was of a persianised character at least in its embellishment and details.[80] To be more specific it was a Shi'ite Islam. Whatever should have been the character of Islam, some of its salient features are proposed to be observed here in relation to Golconda society.

Sec. 10 Monotheism

Monotheism was not a strange or new idea to the Telugu speaking Hindu society but it was in variable idealogical forms. It was further separated from immediate experience by a series of rituals and subsidiary articles of faith. Islamic monotheism was so simple and direct that it could hardly impress the indigenous religious elite which was sustaining rather more deeply-set, elaborate and cumbersome theories of monotheism divided into Saivite and Vaisnuvite cults. The former idealogy conceived the human soul Atman and the divine spirit of God Paramatman as the two expressions of the one and the same absolute truth while the latter regarded the two as entirely separate and incapable of union. The same basic difference existed in the early sufi society of the Deccan and the new Shi'ite sector. The monotheism of ṣūfīs embraced the idea of the Unicity of Being (Wahdat-ul-Wūjūd) which discarded the twoness of God and man. While the Shi'ite doctrine which was brought from Iran disallowed the mystic conception of Unicity and emphasised on the twoness of God and man. That attitude resembled the Vaisnuvite cult. The Islamic monotheism upheld and introduced by the intellectuals and the nobility, being non-mystic was simple, plain and rational and was of course broadly professed in the Sultanate.[81] Such idealogical conflict within Muslim and Hindu sects and

at the same time a parallelism of the concepts of monotheism should have had its own bearing in social alliances and disalliances. The Islamic counterpart of monotheistic theories was never condemned or refuted by the people of Golconda. It rather served as an idealogical rim sustaining and simplifying the traditional indigenous faith.

The monotheistic theory had many facets developed by the Muslim society. No doubt all the theories moved round the articles of monotheism contained in Quran, the dimensional discussions were the product of many non-Arabian influences. Golconda society took an active part in discussions on Islamic-monotheism with its different facets.[82]

Sec. 11 Unicity of Mankind

The second important contribution of the Arab Islamic society was the concept of the oneness of mankind. That idea too, was much simple explained through the legend of Ādam and Eve that the entire mankind owed its ancestory to a single parentage. The theory of oneness of mankind was upheld both by the Shi'ites and Sūnnīs. As a matter of fact it had been a part of muslim faith which they had been sharing with Christianity. The class society of Golconda which was categorically divided into sects and castes on religio-economic grounds should have experienced the plain concept of the oneness of mankind with some surprise. The

faith in the Unicity of mankind was a factor which governed the general character of Islamic law and principles of social behaviour.

Sec. 12 Eschatology

Regarding the life here and hereafter the Quran contends that the human body and the human soul were two things different in nature and origin. The body originated from earth and is therefore perishable. While the soul is immortal on account of its divine origin.[83] Indian religions too hold a similar idea of body and soul.[84] Therefore there was not any fundamental difference in the evaluation of human personality between Hindus and Muslims. The difference of course arises in their eschatological notions. The Quran emphatically asserts that the real and the eternal life is the life hereafter.[85] The human soul has therefore to progress into an infinite linear line.

The concept of the life hereafter existed among all the indigenous religious communities of Golconda which formed an unbreakable cycle of transmigration and reincarnation. The pre-Islamic Iranians too held a similar faith.

The Iranian scholars of Golconda like Mūḥammad Mūqīm bin Kamālu'ddin Ḥusayn,[86] ʻAli bin Tayfur Bastami[87] and the author of Ūsūl-i-Khamsāh[88] paid special attention to the propagation of Islamic eschatology and contributed

considerable literature projecting it as a very important issue. No doubt some of the Iranian scholars were influenced by the religions of Golconda and went to the extent of sponsoring theories of transmigration.[89]

Sec. 13 Justice

The conception of justice (ʻAdl) formed an important element of Shi'ite theology, religious practices and jurisprudence (Fiqh). There had been hardly any Iranian scholar of Golconda who contributed to the religious and ethical literature and should have overlooked a discussion on justice (ʻAdl). Adl or justice counted as one of the five principles of the Shi'ite faith (Usūl-i-Khamsah-i-Imāmiyah).[90]

These are a few salient aspects of Arab Islamic thought which received considerable attention in Golconda. There is a sizeable volume of literature relating to the interpretation of the Quran, the Traditions (Hadis) and jurisprudence (Fiqh) produced in Golconda or imported from Safavi Iran which reveals many more specialised aspects of Arab Islamic thoughts and values diffused in Golconda. That had been done both by the Deccani Sufis through their mystic mission as well as by the Iranian elite through their control of administrative, judicial and educational institutions in their own ways.

References and Notes

1 A.A.A., Passim, H.S. Passim

2 For details see Sykes I ch. XVII

3 The Deccan Sultanates were more busy with the problem of their political stabilisation by promoting their relationship with Iran and could pay little attention to an objective observation of Indo-Islamic culture developed with them. That was of course done in Mughal India. Abul Fazl's introductory note to Āin-i-Akbarī and subsequently Dārā Shīkoh's Majmā -ul-Bahrain are the noteworthy documents on the issue.

4 Basham 161, 177, 196, 235, 236, 274, 307, 312, 344

5 Zoroastrians believed in two Gods Yazdan or Ormuzd as the principal Good and Ahraman the Principal bad conflicting with each other. Whereas Good and bad according to Quran were the facts manifested in human behaviour vide Quran 2:216, 3:180, 10:11, 17:11, 21:35.

6 Q 55:15, 7:12, 38:76

7 Q 37:35, 47: 112

8

9 Hadīqāh 44-46 also see ch.I, Sec. 15 (b)

10 No work seems to have been done on the origin and growth of Majlis in Iran. The word majlis is of Arabic origin and was adopted by Persian during the Sassanian period. This has been referred by

Firdausi in Shahnāmāh, for the counsels in ancient Iran. This word is presumably an Arabic equivalent of archaic Persian (Bāstānī) word Kinkaj or Kinkash.

11 The word Peshwa literally means a leader. It has been largely used in Iran in the sense of a religious leader. In Golconda too this was partially a religious institution which is confirmed by the additional title Muqtada and Mūrtaza-i-Mūmālīk-i-Islām given to Peshwas like Mir Mūḥammad Mumin and Shaikh Mūḥammad Ibn Khātūn (Ḥadiqah 3, 11, 33).

12 Passim

13 The Majlisis of Daulat Mahal (Ḥadīqāh 167, 226) were much like the employees of the Khāssa-i-Sharīfāh of Iranian monarch. Similarly the tutors of princes called lullas (Ḥadīqāh 9-12) and the royal physicians called Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk appear to be very important institutions of the royal retinue. Similar posts existed in contemporary Iran also.

14 Persian and Arabic words like Zilla (Zīlā') Tālūqā, Taqavi, Fārīghkhatī, Kuza etc., are popularly used in Telugu language and may be found in any Telugu Dictionary. These and other Persian words are found in Telugu endorsements on official documents of Golconda (see Qūṭb Shahi documents of K.H.C.

15 See ch. I, Sec. 7 and Sec. 8

16 Browne IV, 353-4; 367-80

17 T.Q.S. f 111(a); Ḥadīqāh 210; Bilgrāmī 25 also see Sec. 8 (ii, iii) below.

18 Ḥadīqāh 151

19 See Sec. 8 below

20 He was first appointed as Qāẓī of cantonment and later as Dabīr and the member of the Majlis in 1047/1637 (Ḥadīqāh 167, 209).

21 Mụhammad ʿAli hailed from Jabal Druz, Isfahan. He reached Golconda in 1054/1644 and joined the retinue of Ibn Khātūn at whose instance he compiled a thesaurus of Persian proverbs thoroughly dressed with illustrative examples. This work is found in different libraries under variable titles as Jāmiʿu'ttamṡīl, Jāmi u'ttamaṡīl, Ajāib-ul-Amṡāl and Majmāʿ-ul-Amṡāl see MS No. Lughat 76, SJM & L., I.O.L. No.2209. This has been published from Tehran in 1278/1861 and from Bombay in 1290/1873.

22 ʿAli bin Tayfūr was the son of Tayfūr bin Mụhammad of Bastam who was an eminent scholar. Ali was a versatile scholar and contributed quite a number of books relating to History, Literature, Mysticism, Ethics and Lexicography. He is seen in Golconda during the reigns of ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah and ʿAbul Hasan Qūṭb Shah. The list of his works is too detailed to be cited here. Most of his works, compilations and translations were at the instance of the monarchs (for his ancestory see Nujum 94; Shuzr, for his life and work see Ḥadāiq MS No. Tārīkh 213, SJM & L. Preface to his translation of Makārim-ul-Akhlāq preserved at No. Akhlāq 22, SJM & L. Shamsullah (I) p. 77-81.

23 Ḥadīqāh 12, 13, 20

24 Ibid 9-13

25 It is an interesting fact that generation after generation, the Āfāqī intellectuals of Golconda made progress in perfect harmony with their Iranian counterparts and there is no noteworthy reactionary in the native Deccani intellectuals.

26 Hitti 306, 307, 363-9

27 Ibid 311

28 For an excellent study of this aspect see Benerji: Hellenism in ancient India; Basham 355, 368-9, 373-4.

29 Burhān-i-Qaṭī of Burhan Tabrizi compiled in Golconda in 1062/1651 contains the names of scores of Greek thinkers as at pp. 58, 62, 66, 78, 90, 116, 138, 141, 174, 182, 183, 195, 200, 284, 285, 298, 354, 369, 370, 386, 473, 613.

30 A biographical dictionary entitled Tazkirat-ul-Ḥukamā written by Isma'il bin Ibrāhim Tabrizi during the times of Abūl Hasan Qūṭb Shah contains these and many other names with brief introduction. Presumably this is a Persian translation of some earlier Arabic work, also see Ḥadāīq ff 21(a)-25(b).

31 Browne III, 442-4, 503-4; for Greek impact on Ethics as developed by Muslim scholars see Hitti 400.

32 The best of the works relating to ethics produced in Golconda is perhaps Tuhfa-i-Qūṭb Shahi of Ali bin Tayfūr. Among other ethical works produced in

Golconda reference may be made to Dastūr-ul-ʿAmal-i-Salatin preserved at Bankipur Library at No:2037; Risālāh dar Ākhlāq, preserved at No: 22 SJM & L.

Shajar treatises Nos. 20, 21, 32, 53, 66, 75.

33 For the Greco-Islamic character of scholastic philosophy see Arnold 239-282; Hitti ch. xxx.

34 For a masterly survey and evaluation of these and many other muslim schools see H.M.P.

35 Dānish f 4(a); for general information about him see Browne IV 405, H.M.P. 936.

36 Dānish f 4(b); for general information about him see Browne IV 405, H.M.P. 801.

37 Dānish f 4(b); for general information about him see Browne IV 405.

38 Dānish f 13(b); Tuḥfa: as a matter of fact Tuḥfah is a commentary on Tusi's Tajrid made in Golconda by Zain-u'ddin Badakhshī. For further information about Tusi see Browne IV 405, H.M.P. 568, 655, 883.

39 Tuḥfah f 3(a); Dānish f 4(b); Khirqah III Sec. 23; for further information about Mūtahhār see Browne IV 54; H.M.P. 397, 800, 906 n.

40 Dānish f 4(a); for his life and work, the excellent translation of his Sharhul ʿAqāīd i'nnasafī with an introduction by E.E.Elder New York 1950. Also see Browne III 354, H.M.P. 646, 1360.

41 Dānish f 18(a) also see Browne III 355, H.M.P. 907, 1051, 1360.

42 Tuḥfāh f 3(a); Browne III 386 also see H.M.P. 936

43 Tuḥfah f 3(a); Browne IV 83, 231, 427, H.M.P. 884, 887-8.

44 Tuḥfah f 3(a); Browne IV 429, H.M.P. ch. XLVIII.

45 See Khirqa Part V in which Ibn ʿImad has practically cited a few self supposed sayings (Aḥādiṣ) of the Prophet specifically asserting that Aristotle was a Prophet. Also see Dānish f 3(b); Tabsīrāh f 2(b) to 8 (b).

46 Browne IV 405

47 Tabsirāh f 2(b) - 8(b)

48 Dānish f 1(b). Practically there was no such individual community recognised by one and all as Firqāh-i-Najiāh. Every muslim community claims to be so.

For the definition and development of Ākhbarī school see Browne IV 374.

49 Dānish f 3(a)

50 Ibid f 3(b)

51 Ibid f 4(a)

52 Ibid f 6(a) - 8(b)

53 Ibid f 18(a) - 24(a)

54 Ibid f 28(b)

55 Ibid f 56(b) - 59(a)

56 There had been many European physicians who visited Golconda and practised there. The venitian physician Manucci has recorded an account of his medical service in Golconda. Peter de Lan was a Dutch Surgeon employed by ʻAbdullah Qūṭb Shah at a monthly salary of eight hundred rupees. The French traveller Tavernier was his guest during his stay at Golconda (Tavernier 232). Elgood in his Medical History of Persia in the chapter relating to the Ṣafavī period boasts of the European physicians as the genuine successors of the Greek medicinal system and redicules Iranian physicians for their deeming themselves to be such successors. We do not subscribe to the point of view presented by Elgood. As a matter of fact both Iranians and Europeans inherited knowledge of Greek medicine through Arabs. See Hitti 685-7; For an authoritative account of the Greek origin of Arab Medicine see Browne, E.G: Arabian Medicine; Ibn Usaibiyah: Ṭabaqāt-ul-Aṭibbā and H.M.P. ch LXVII.

57 For the life of Mir Mumin see ch. IV Sec. 6. For his encouragement of medical research see Ikhtiyārāt.

58 He translated Tazkirat-ul-Kuhhalin of ʻAli Ibn ʻIsa an occulist of ʻAbbasid period (see Hitti 368-9) Codex of the translation is preserved at Ṭibb No.49 SJM & L.

59 According to Shamsullāh (I) 191 he was one of the authors of Ikhtiyārt.

60 See his work Tazkirat u'sshshahwat.

61 See his work Mizan

62 Ḥadīqah 33, 113, 114, 131

63 Ḥadīqah 103

64 Ḥadīqah 167; Shamsullāh (I) 81; Bilgramī 151. There is a confusion about the date of his death.

65 For the political career of Ḥakīm-ul-Mūlk see ch. II, Sec. 33

66 Ḥadīqah 259

67 Talqani No. 22

68 Talqani No. 37, Makātib (Z) pf 629; Mufidī 408

69 Ḥadīqah 210

70 For simple drugs Iktiyārāt is the best work, also see Nafāyīs dissertation IV, ch. 6 and 7; Khirqah Vol. VI, ch. 10

71 One of the major works relating to compound drugs is Mīzān, also Shajar treatises Nos. 34, 35, 70, 71, 72, 90; For Toxicology see treatise No.5.

72 Kahin Attār was a Judo-Egyptian pharmacist who wrote his famous Minhāj-u'ddukkan Wa Dastūr-ul-A yan a manual of drugs in about 1260 A.D. in Arabic language (Hitti 685). Canon is the famous work of Avicenna

73 See ch. III, Sec. 6

74 Regarding literature pertaining to aphrodisiac medicine produced in Golconda reference may be made to Tazkirat-u'shshahwat of Ḥakīm Safī-u'ddin Gīlānī.

Shajar treatise No.91 Ḥakīm Shamsu'ddin bin Nūru'ddin: Zubdatul Hikam ch. IV, Sec. 13; It may be pointed out that Mūḥammad Amin Jāmī of Golconda translated the Sanskrit Kuka Shastra into Persian and assigned it the title of Lazzat-unnisa.

75 Ḥadīqah 21, 103, 189, 201

76 For literature regarding Pathology and Therapeutics produced in Golconda see Anonymous: Makhzan-i-Ṭibb-i-Qūṭb Shahi.

Shajar treatise No. 19, 73

Shamsu'ddin 'Ali Al Ḥusaynī al Jurjani: Tarjuma-i-Tazkirat-ul-Kuhhalin.

Nafāyīs: dissertation No. IV ch. 3 to 8

77 For literature on hygiene produced in Golconda see Zubdat-ul-Hikam by Ḥakīm Shamsu'ddin bin Nūrū'ddin.

Shajar articles 89, 100 to 102

78 T.Q.S. f 111 (a); Ḥadīqah 210, Zafrāh 12-13; Bilgrāmī: 25.

79 Even today shrines of such Ṣufīs exist in Hyderabad, Cuddapah, Rajahmundry, Warangal and Kaulas. For details see relevant District Gazetteers.

80 For Perso-Islamic influence see Secs: 2, 3 and 4 above.

81 Also see ch. IV, Secs: 6 and 7

82 Sirat f 17, 26, 37, 38; Usul Sec. 1; Khirqah V ch. I, II, III, IV; Danish f 40(b) - 52 (b).

83 Q. 23:12, 15:26, 16:4, 55:14, 32:4 to 9, 17:85, also see Zia-u'ddinAhmad Shakeb: 'Man's Nature and Destiny' Published in Religion and Society Bangalore Vol. XX No.3 September 1973.

84 Gita 2:41, 3:40, 5:11, 2:63, 18:30-32, 6:20, 21, 6:25-26, 18:49-54, also see Zimmer 79-80; Basham 250-53, 268-72, 290-91, 322-40.

85 Q. 4:77, 9:38, 13:26, 17:21, 87:17.

86 See his treatise Dar Tahqiq-i-Ma'ad Wa Hashr-i-Ajsad.

87 Bastami too contributed a special treatise on eschatology entitled Risalah-i-Ma'sumiyah which deals the subject according to the Shi'ite point of view

88 The author of this book is not known

89 For the development of the ideas of transmigration and reincarnation in Iran see Tabsirah ff 51 (b) - 54(a). For this idea among the Iranians of Golconda there are instances in their poetry as that of Adai Yazdi.

90 For discussions on Adl in Golconda see Sirat f 117(b); Usul Sec.2.

SIX

Conclusion

An attempt has been made in the foregoing chapters to study the relations of Golconda with Iran in the context of their political, diplomatic, commercial, religious and idealogical aspects. To provide a proper perspective to the observation the personalities of the Golconda Sultanate and the Safavi Iran, their lands, peoples and their dynastic foundations have been analytically elucidated. The above aspects of their relations were parts of their contemporary international counterparts, and have therefore been observed with their natural associates. This observation leads to draw the following inferences of national and international interest.

The first and the foremost is the peculiar aspect of a native Indian State aspiring and struggling not only for its autonomous existence absolutely free of any central authority but also trying to come up as a world State on par with the world State of Hindustan represented by the Mughals. The causes of such a wilful attitude were many.

Firstly it was the absence of a strong central government of India from the end of the Tughlaq period down to the rise of Akbar. During that respite the rulers of the Deccan were practically left autonomous. That autonomy was not distinctly felt till Akbar's campaigns of rebuilding a greater India explained that the Southern Sultanates had become arrogant seeking alliance with the foreign power of Iran. Secondly the Safavi Iran which had been a political upstart with a new religious, National and Linguistic policy was all surrounded with well established or traditionally recognised Sunni States led by the Turks in the Ottoman Empire, Transoxiana and Hindustan. The survival of Safavi Iran required to keep Hindustan and Transoxiana diverted from her and also unallied with each other. She could find the best instrument to that object in the rulers of the Deccan, specially the Deccan Sultanates. Iran could keep the Deccan Sultanates antagonistic to Hindustan for a century and four scores of it. The conflict of the Deccan with Hindustan had been a constant cause for the loss of lives and resources at a fantastic scale for over a century and a quarter of it. That had been weakening Hindustan to an extent that she ultimately lost her North Western Province of Kabul to Iran on the one hand and annihilation of the Deccan Sultanate of Golconda and Bijapur on the other.

Thirdly the Sultans of Golconda like other Sultans of the Deccan were the nobles of the Native Indian State of the

Bahmanis and it was very difficult for them to get their dominions recognised as world States by the contemporary society of the States. It was only Iran who came forward to recognise them in a dubious way viz., as the world states on one hand and the theoritical Iranian dependencies on the other. That situation disallowed the Qutb Shahs fully to naturalise themselves in the Deccan as the Mughals did in Hindustan. Even the sixth ruler of the dynasty reposed so much confidence in Iran that he was cherishing an idea to flee over to Iran if the Mughal oppression increased any more.

Political alliance with an alien power, adoption of a foreign idealogy and hiring the services of a nobility drawn from a foreign stock were all the factors which set Golconda in a direction which could not gain strong grounds for her on Indian soil. It kept her fighting against home authorities relying on Iran which gave her a little military aid together with a little diplomatic support with high sounding promises. The Iranian support to Golconda was not without cost. There are evidences when Golconda had to purchase diplomatic support sometimes amounting to the cost of a war between Iran and Hindustan.

The political convictions and diplomatic demarche of Golconda were unrealistic ambitious and imaginery. They proved wasteful to the cause of Indian Nation and led its engineers to total destruction.

The second important aspect is economic. The Qutb Shahs had inherited very strong and highly productive agrarian, industrial and fiscal set up from the architects of Vijayanagar empire. They did not pay due attention to these three important aspects of the economic sphere of the state activities. The farming out system of administration to a nobility of foreign stock with an authority to economic control proved rather repugnant to the economic institutions. The attention of the administrators concentrated in the exaction of money from the peasantry and the industrial labour than to make any substantial and systematic effort to invigorate agriculture and industry. That manifested a woeful situation. It was expected that they would add to the economic potential by providing heavy financial investments, but the Qutb Shahi nobility or the Iranian element did not indulge much, except in mining industry, in the details of the productive activities of the Sultanate. There were no doubt big Iranian merchants who played a considerable role in promoting overseas trade of Golconda. Even in that sphere since free trade was allowed, the Iranians were outdone by the Dutch and the English. Golconda served an international bridge for the overseas trade of the East and the West from Holland to Japan and as such it was a very important centre of the exchange of international money. That exchange was both direct and indirect. Respecting direct exchange Golconda maintained a single currency both theoritically for account

and practically in bazar with a gold standard while all other countries maintained their gold currency only theoritically for accounts and afforded silver coins for exchange. The absence of a sound fiscal policy of the State led the gold of Golconda drain out to the European countries, Iran and Hindustan.

The magnificent industrial set up was gradually left to the control of the Dutch and the English who in the beginning played an important role at the three stages of its development. Firstly at the agricultural stage by helping the peasant. Secondly at industrial stage by masterfully controlling industrial organisation and thirdly at commercial level by controlling the entire industrial bazar and organising a vast market overseas. The economically indolent Qutb Shahs never cared to realise the consequences. At a later stage the English and the Dutch totally extinguished the enormous textile industry of Golconda, as they did in Bijapur and Bengal. The unilateral urge of political autonomy of Qutb Shahs did not allow them to divert their attention to the economic reconstruction of the Sultanate.

Iran maintained commercial relations of a moderate standard with Golconda. She had been supplying industrial goods of a highly specialised nature and purchasing some raw material for her own industry. Iranian goods imported by Golconda included carpets, silk textiles, brocade, books,

the tiles of Kashi and arms whereas Golconda exported to her cotton textiles, dye stuffs, diamonds, Iron and steel et cetera. Their commercial contacts were maintained not only by the Iranians but also by Europeans. Such contacts did not so much directly strengthen the economic life of Golconda as they gave a flourish to its culture.

The third and, the most significant aspect of the relations is idealogical which added new dimensions to the culture of the Sultanate. Golconda was inhabited by a people of a mixed Aryo-Dravidian culture and idealogy represented through religion and language. Those people had already received the Zoroastrian and Hellenistic influences during the pre-Islamic era. It was through the Qutb Shahi dynasty that three idealogical currents flowed in the kingdom. Those were the Perso-Islamic, the Greco-Arab, and the Arab-Islamic. Simplifying the situation it may be said that Zoroastranism, Hellenism and Islam had played a veritable role in the lives of many a people making them think on some common lines and have thus contributed to an international understanding at a very large scale. They are perhaps still serving as under-currents in the growth of a universal culture. No doubt among foreign influences Christianity too had been an important factor in the development of such culture but in the specific context of the relations of Iran with Golconda the above three

great idealogies played a significant role. It is this current of idealogical influx which bridges the gap between the medieval and the modern as well as links up our culture with the rest of the world.

ANNEXURES

Annexure – A

DIPLOMATIC USAGE

International relationship was a grown up practice during the period of this study specially in the Middle East. It had developed into an enormous structural form that reflected its function. An ambassadorial suite would be as large as might be required by its multifarious objectives. The tenure of an embassy could vary according to the circumstances. The envoys were categorised differently.

Sec. 1 Categories of Envoys

Diplomatic representatives of the contemporary East were of many categories and yet, regardless of their category, each of them could be conveniently called an Elchi or Safir (Ambassador). Their functions being 'Elchīgarī' and 'sifārat'.[1] The categories of political representatives may therefore be appropriately termed as the categories of Elchis. They could be classified in view of the nature of their mission and tenure. An Elchi carrying a diplomatic letter was called a Rasul or Qāsid (Courier), his function was called risālat. The one

carrying the oral message was called Khushūr or Vakshūr[2] or Mubīn Bāshī[3] (spokeman).

According to Golconda sources the Elchis of different States (Indian and Foreign) were always present in Golconda. They were all called Ḥājibs[4] (chamberlain). The term Ḥājib was rarely used in Iran and Hindustan where Elchi, Vakhshūr (an Apostle), Rasūl (legate), Qāpūchī bāshī(chamberlain) and Yasāwal (a State Messenger), were commonly used. Ḥājibs of different countries were assigned a seat in the first row of the Qūṭb Shāhī Majlis which was a unique feature representing the prominence of foreign element in the body-politic of the Sultanate.[5] The envoys of Golconda sent to Iran or Hindustan are referred to as Ḥājibs by Golconda sources while they had been referred to as Elchis by the Iranians. By the Mughals they were called firistadah[6] (one sent by) or nauker (servant) and sometimes as Elchis and vakils as well.

Ḥājibs had been further categorised as Ḥājib-i-Mūqīmī[7] (Regular envoy) or Ḥājib-i-maṣliḥatī (lit: a Charge-d' affairs)[8]. The tradition of Ḥājib-i-Mūqīmī was not universally practised. Nevertheless they were exchanged between the political entities desirous to keep in constant touch with each other. All the Deccan Sultanates had been exchanging regular envoys. During the time of Akbar the Deccan Sultans requested him for the appointment of such

regular envoys in their Sultanates (see Sec. 14). Thenceforward regular envoys were exchanged between Hindustan and Golconda. That was of course with some intervals but it turned to be a regular feature from the times of Shah Jahān.[9] The title of the Mughal envoy in Golconda continued to be Ḥājib but he assumed the status of a Political Agent who could exercise a high hand in the internal and the external affairs of the Sultanate. The Mughals designated as their Vakils, who were by all means such powerful representatives who might be better called as Political Agents oppressing the Sultan than to be called chamberlains.[10]

A vakil did not specifically form a category of foreign services. He was a legal representative authorised for certain subjects which could be political, inter-statal or international. In any case a Vakil was not appointed for the formulation of policies or negotiations on matters. He had to omplement the decisions arrived at by the Diplomats. For instance the covenants arrived at between Shah Jahān and ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah were the results of prolonged negotiations conducted by the Diplomats and Elchis of the two political entities and as soon as the talks were over Mughal Vakils marched to Golconda for collecting peshkash (see Sec. 29).

An Elchi could be entrusted with minor missions on his way. Most of the Elchis moving between Iran and

Golconda called on the Mughal Emperor on their way, offered him peshkash, delivered letters and were favoured with gifts and robes of honour. Some of the Envoys had to carry missions of equal significance to more than one political entities. They could be treated as Roving Ambassadors. Mūḥammad Mūqīm Kitābdār and Āsadullah Kark Yarāq may be taken as instances (see Secs. 15 and 31).

Consequent on the death of Shaikh Mūḥammad Ibn Khātūn or of Mīr Mu'izu'ddīn Mūḥammad at Iran, ʿAbdullah Qūṭb Shah appointed vakils to dispose of their effects.[11] Nevertheless a vakil's function was not absolutely free of politics. To step in an alien jurisdiction itself required several political sanctions. A Vakil's job in an alien land implied an earlier concurrence of the political authorities of the State Heads to that effect.

The institution of Elchi and Safīr demanded persons of various calibre for the satisfactory performance of their duties. In case a very eminent person was sent on any important mission he could be referred to with the epithets of Kalān or Kabīr (great) as Safīr-i-Kalān, Elchi-i-Kalan, Safir-i-Kabir and Elchi-i-Kabīr. No doubt as a matter of protocol their names were mentioned with many more high ceremonious titles which were styled by the expert rhetoricians from time to time.

Sec. 2 Personality of Elchi

Regarding the personality of Elchi it may be said that it varied from a veteran diplomat to a military adviser. The Elchis exchanged between Iran and Hindustan were generally diplomats of a considerable stature. But in the case of diplomatic traffic between Golconda and Iran the personalities of the Elchis of two sides manifested a great disparity. Those sent from Golconda to Iran were persons from the first row of the Majlis and of a high diplomatic calibre like Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatūn, Khayrāt Khan, Ḥakim Nizām-ul-Mūlk and others. On the other hand the Elchis turning up from Iran to Golconda were comparatively persons of lesser significance drawn either from secondary level of Iranian elite like Qāsim Beg Paran or from the monarch's private estate (Khaṣṣa Sharifa) like Uighūrlū Beg Sultan. On many occasions Iranian Elchis to Golconda were military experts like Āsadullah Beg Tabrizi Kark yarāq (the chief of Ordnance) and Qāsim Beg Paran Sipah Salār (commander-in-chief).

It is not known whether the Elchis coming from Iran to Golconda had been enjoying the membership of Iranian Majlis but all the Elchis of Golconda sent to Iran were drawn from Quṭb Shahi Majlis. Moreover all the Iranian Elchis in Golconda were assigned a seat in the first row of Quṭb Shahi Majlis and were treated as the most distinguished

veterans (Dānish mand-i-bī-misl-wa-mānind).[12] There is no evidence of Golconda Elchis to have been extended any like treatment in Iran.

Sec. 3 Protocol

a) Reception: An Envoy was received with certain diplomatic ceremony right from his entrance in the country. The body of contemporary diplomatic etiquette was mainly based on an unwritten law or traditional practices providing room for unusual even unprecedented pomp and glory in entertaining an Envoy on the one hand or showing quite a cold polite attitude on the other. Regarding the immunities and facilities to be provided to an Elchi standards were fixed and recorded in a Book of Protocol (Tashrīfāt).

The Envoys of Golconda were escorted to the Iranian Capital from Bandar ʿAbbās and Iranian Envoys to Golconda were escorted from the port of Dabhol and Masūlipatam by the official representatives. The news of the arrival of Envoys was generally carried by the couriers of the receiving countries appointed at the ports and outposts. This could be treated as the first reception.[13]

The second reception was given at the border of the State. This was essentially the first reception given by a State. The Head of the State would issue a Firman to

the effect of constituting a Reception Committee headed by a Chief of Protocol who would be a person not less than the rank of a Vizir. The Reception Committee was constituted of many dignitories which should be naturally accompanied with a sizeable army. The Committee would receive the Elchi as a State guest and escort him to the vicinity of the capital with all necessary protocol.

The third and the final reception was given by another Reception Committee of a still higher rank with much pomp and glory at the distance of a few miles from the heart of the city. That Committee would include a person of more high a rank than the Chief of Protocol. In Golconda and other Deccan Sultanates there were instances of Sultans themselves going ahead to receive the Elchi as ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah received Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū at Khayratābād, or ʿĀdil Shah received Jamālu'ddīn Injū.[14] In case the monarch himself joined a State Reception, the greeting would become as pompous as could be afforded by a State.

The final reception was given at Durbar where the Elchi would be allowed to appear before the monarch to submit his credentials and diplomatic letters if any. He would also present the articles of gift which included bejewelled weapons, jewellery, bejewelled utensils, fine

pieces of textile cloth, horses or elephants, books, instruments, carpets, and slaves. The Elchi and his suite would then be favoured with gifts and robes of honour conferred by the monarch.

b) Privileges: The Elchi and his suite were provided with suitable residential buildings, servants to attend upon them, horses and elephants for their conveyance and grants in cash and kind for their maintenance. In the case of an Elchi-i-Kabīr, lands comprising of villages were also granted to them as Shah ʿAbbās II granted villages to Khayrāt Khan and ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah to Imām Beg Shāmlū in Golconda.[15] The Elchis were exempted from paying all sorts of taxes.[16]

It was a usual practice that the Elchi would be given many dinners and banquets by the monarch and other eminent nobles. There are instances when the Golconda Sultans paid visits to the residence of Envoys.

c) Seeing Off: An Envoy would be relieved at the pleasure of his host who generally tended to delay the dismissal for years together. The sending off took place with much ceremony. The Elchi would be allowed a farewel appearance at the court where he would be favoured with robes of honour and other grants in cash and kind. He would be sent off by a special committee generally at

the frontiers of a state and would be accompanied by a return Elchi who was entrusted with the presents for the monarch. The return Elchi would also carry the diplomatic letter, or reply letter as the case might be addressed to the monarch of the country he would visit.

Sec. 4 Elchi's suite

An Elchi had a large suite comprising his secretariat, militarimen, and servants. The secretariat was to comprise his assistants, Munshis, News Reporters (Waqāiʿ nigār), and the keeper of gifts (Taḥvīldār) with their staff. The Iranian Elchis coming to Golconda had been bringing with them from hundred to eight hundred war leaders (ghāziān-i-ʿUẕẕām) but the Golconda Elchis to Iran do not seem to have been accompanied with such war leaders. Nevertheless they should have a small battalion in their train. The Mughal Elchis always entered Golconda with such an enormous Lashkar which was large enough to capture the kingdom.

A large number of horses, the enormous articles of gift and other paraphernalia required a good number of staff and attendants.

The Elchi-i-Kabīr would move to a foreign country with his family and dependents who were all treated as State Guests.[17]

Sec. 5 Diplomatic correspondence

An Elchi would carry a diplomatic letter. Such letters were drafted by the Munshis who were expert epistolarians and were therefore excellent pieces of literary acumen. Diplomatic letters opened with a strong section consisting of highly ornate and beautiful phrases serving a ceremonious address. But it was not a product of mere imagination. All the phrases were meaningful affording several aspects of the feelings and sentiments of the writer in respect of the addressee. That part too had its political implications and was not therefore a mere piece of literary art. Inspite of its virtuality it was not necessarily true and sincere. The Mughal-Qutb Shāhī correspondence was having as strong a ceremonial section as that of Qutb Shāhī-Safavī correspondence. Both were having political significance but the former was devoid of sincerity.

The second part of the letter contained the actual details of the matter which were generally brief enigmatic yet subtle and effective. This part was sometimes unreal. The Qutb Shahs sent their Elchis to Iran stating their mission in the letters as private and personal yet supplicating the addressee to carefully respond the oral messages communicated through the Elchis.

There are instances affording enough grounds to believe that the real letters were carried secretly while unreal letters served as formal correspondence, which could be presented if censored.[18]

A diplomatic letter initially brought by an Elchi could be followed by subsequent rejoinders but in any case an Elchi was not a mere bearer of a letter. He had always an oral message to be delivered in person. With the rise of the Mughal power in India a censor on the activities of Golconda had developed. It went to an extent of the appointment of Mughal News Reporters within the territories of Golconda.[19] In such circumstances the mode of diplomatic communications underwent two major changes; firstly messages were carried mostly orally and secondly they were communicated through informal channels like the ladies who were having access to the Iranian monarchs.

Sec. 6 Credentials

Every Elchi had to carry a credential in the form of a letter addressed by his monarch to the monarch of the State he had to visit. Such letters detailed the name of the Elchi, his rank and designation, the titles of honour and a few remarks regarding his intimacy to his master and his reliability. It was also hinted that the Elchi would

carry secret message orally to be delivered in privacy.[20]

The credentials were recorded separately or in the diplomatic letter itself. The Elchi would produce the credentials when he was allowed an audience by the host monarch.

References and Notes

1 The term Elchi is quite familiar in English which borrowed it from Turkish. It has been spelt as eltchi, elchee and ilchi also. It is interesting to note that all the categories of diplomatic representatives bore Arabic or Turkish titles and were very rarely Persian. The Persian words Miānjī and Mianjīgarī are found quite seldom. It may further be noted that most of the terms owed their origin to religious perspectives.

2 Akbar preferred to send his apostles to preach his supremacy in the Deccan (see Sec. 13) and addressed the Deccan Sultans through letters quite sparingly. Ābul Fażl specifically mentions Akbar's apostle in Persian terms as Khushūr or Vakhshūr sent with good counsels (indūrz) vide A.N. Vol. III p. 782.

3 Mūbīn Bāshī is a compound Perso-Arabic term meaning the deliverer of an oral message or a spokesman. Qāsim Beg Sipah Salār, the Iranian Elchi to Golconda was designated as Mūbīn Bāshī (Makātīb ff 626).

4 T.Q.S. f 142 (a); Ḥadīqah 32, 34, 45, 81, 121. A ḥājib literally means a door keeper, chamberlain, or a minister of State. His functions being called ḥijābat.

5 Ḥadīqah 45

6 Professor Sherwānī (Q 588) holds an opinion that 'firistādah' is a literal translation of the Anglo-French word 'envoy'. No doubt firistādah is also a term for an ambassador or envoy (vide Steingass) but it was a low term or at least less ceremonial.

7 Ḥadīqah 294

8 Sherwānī op. cit p. 514. A Ḥājib-i-Maṣlihatī has been defined by Professor Sherwānī as an adhoc envoy. Though literally it means a charge-d' affaires but it was not exactly the same in its actual definition. Prof. Sherwānī's definition serves best.

9 Riāzul Islām's contention; (p. 226) that the system of having permanent diplomatic missions as now obtains was not in vogue in our period is not correct.

10 The details of the role of Mīr Muḥammad Mushrif, Āurangzeb's Elchi to Ābul Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, described by Khāfī Khan(II 294-295) affords a best picture of the situation.

11 Ṭālqānī No. 21, 42

12 Ḥadīqah 45

13 Reception of an Elchi beyond the jurisdiction of a Sultanate as at Dabhol was due to the peculiar Geographical situation of Golconda.

14 For the reception of Imām Qūlī, see ch.II, Sec. 31 and for Jamālu'ddīn Injū ch.II, Sec. 20.

15 See ch. II Secs. 28 and 31

16 Ibid

17 There is an evidence that Qāsim Beg Paran had been to Golconda with his family and when died there his mission was entrusted to his son Muḥammad Qūlī who had accompanied him to Golconda. Similarly Khayrāt Khan had been to Iran with his family (see ch.II, Sec. 28). For other details regarding an Elchi's suite see T.Q.S. f 127 (b) and 143 (b); also R.I. 228.

18 The two letters carried by Mihdī Qūlī Sultan Ṭālish to Shah ʿAbbās I may be seen; also see ch. II, Sec. 19.

19 S.W.D. 1-36; A. Ṭālqānī No. 12 an incident of Mughal spies narrative by Manucci (pp. 283-300) affords a clear picture of Mughal vigilance.

20 Letters of Shah ʿAbbās II addressed to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah provide specific notices of such secret messages to be carried orally (see ch. II, Secs. 38 and 40).

Annexure B

FOUNDATIONS OF SHI'ITE FAITH - THE POLEMIC OF CALIPHATE AND IMAMATE

The religio-political character of the Safavi movement can be appreciated only in the light of the historical foundations of Shi'ite faith. The development of Shi'ite faith itself owes to a political conflict on the issues of the Caliphate and Imamate. It may therefore be advisable, briefly to look into the history of these two institutions so as to bring but the raison d'etre of the conflict.

Sec. 1 Caliphate

The institution of Caliphate in muslim society had afforded a twofold facility of democratic chances of rising to the headship of a state on the one hand and of being a divine agency of governance on the other. This two-fold capacity is represented by the terms 'Amir-ul-Muminin' (Commander of the believers) and Khalifatullah (God's Caliph) respectively.[1] These two titles pertain to the one and the same institution and are indicative of two aspects of it and have therefore been used here (as throught the Islamic literature) as synonyms. This institution was first occupied by the prophet of

Islam himself from 622 A.D. to 632 A.D. The issue of a successor Caliph after the prophet, became a matter of political controversy which ultimately led to the split of muslim society into the two sections of Shi'ites and Sunnites. According to the Sunnis the institution of Caliphate, after the prophet of Islam, was succeeded first by the four orthodox Caliphs from 632 to 661 A.D.[2] the orthodox Caliphs were succeeded by the dynastic Caliphates of Umayyas 661-750 A.D. Abbasis 750-1258 A.D. with whom there ran a parallel Shi'ite Caliphate of Fatimis 909-1171 A.D. in Egypt. The Abbasi Caliphate was succeeded by the Mamluks 648/1250 A.D. and finally by the Ottoman Turks from 792/1389 A.D.[3] Despite the fact that the institution of Caliphate should be manned by a combined process of selection and election. The society of the Sunni muslims normally submitted its allegiance to the dynastic Caliphs regardless of their virtual fitness. With the beginning of the 14th century the institution underwent a few more peculiar changes. Firstly it was believed that a Caliph should be a person from the Arab Clan of Quraysh[4] but the Mamluks and ultimately Ottomans, who were Circassians and Mongols respectively, were admitted as Caliphs. Ottoman Caliphs assumed the title of Sultan and have not been referred by the Chroniclers as Amir-ul-muminin. These changes assigned the institution of Caliphate a complete heiratic and monarchical character admitted by the Sunni muslim society.[5]

On the other side the Shi'as refused to admit all the above democratic and dynastic Caliphs as legitimate authorities

right from the times of the first orthodox Caliph Abu Bakr. According to them there had not been any proper person other than Ali after the prophet to be 'Caliph' and 'Amir-ul-muminin'. He was selected and nominated to be so designated by the prophet himself but the circumstances led adversely not only to keep Ali deprived of that status from 632 A.D. to 656 A.D. but also his descendants who were members of the prophetic household (Ahl-i-Bayt) and the sole legitimate candidates for Caliphate both from the point of view of their sanctimonious lineage and individual stature.[6] Eleven of the descendants of Ali from 669 A.D. to 878 A.D. persistently kept on denying and challenging the above detailed Sunni Caliphate. Of those eleven, four are said to have met death by poison and the other lost their lives fighting against the authority of their contemporary Caliphs except the last of them al-Mahdi or Muhammad al-Qa'im; who disappeared in 264/878.[7]

Sec. 2 Imamate

The institution of imamate which has, by some scholars, been confused with the institution of Caliphate had a distinct significance in the medieval muslim society, regardless of Shias and Sunnis.[8] From earliest to the end of the period of present study, the presence of an Imam was deemed to be essential by all muslims, whether or not, the conviction was based on genuine articles of Islamic faith.[9] What is significant in this matter is the difference of Shi'ite and

Sunni approach to the issue.

Some of the basic differences may be stated here. Both agree that an Imam was essential to guide the society in their life here and hereafter, after the prophet. But an Imam according to Shias was so designated by Allah and he was by nature an innocent (Ma'sum) and naturally a member of the household of the prophet. Ali was therefore the first Imam and immediate genuine successor to the prophet. After Ali eleven of his successors were Imams with all divine sanctions and the last of them Muhammad-al-Qa'im disappeared in 264 A.H./878 A.D. in the cave of the great mosque of Samarra. He left no offsprings and is believed to be surviving in some unknown space and shall appear again to guide mankind. He is therefore the master of the time (Qa'im-u'zzaman), the hidden (mustatir), the awaited (muntazar) Imam. After him there should be no other Imam as he would reappear.[10]

According to Sunnis, an Imam was an able person elected by a competent muslim electorate, he was not innocent as he could commit sin, he should have been the one descending from al-Quraysh and should not be a hidden one. They accepted the first four orthodox Caliphs as the rightly guided (Rashidin) and legitimate successor of the prophet in the order of their succession. After thirty years of their Caliphate the institution fell into dubious (mushkil) situation. It got bifurcated into the secular on one hand and the religious on the other.

The secular aspect of it was assumed by the dynastic Umayyad Caliphs and subsequently by other dynasties.[11] While the religious aspect was exercised by the four doctors of Islamic jurisprudence (fuqaha) named Abu Hanifah (d. 150/767), Malik bin Anas (d. 179/795), A'shshafi i (d. 204/820) and Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Hanbal (d. 241/855).[12] After them the doctrine of enunciation of fresh religious truths (the doctrine being called Ijtihad) ceased to exist among sunnis whereas in Shias it obtaned a fresh lease of life in the institution of mujtahids after the disappearance of the last Imam.

These issues were the subject of hot discussions among the contemporary muslim intellectuals and Golconda was not less earnest a participant.[13]

References and Notes

1 The terms 'Amir-ul-muminin' and Khalifat-ullah' have partial or indirect support of the Quran vide Al Quran, 2:30; 33:72; Ziau'ddin Ahmed Shakeb: 'Man's Nature and Destiny, according to the Mufassirin' published in Religion and Society Volume XX No.3 September 1973, Bangalore. As the institution was of a dynamic character and of excessive significance which sustained a duration of over a millennium hence assumed an extremely variable character.

2 The four orthodox Caliphs were -

1)	Abu Bakr	632 - 634	A.D.
2)	Umar	634 - 644	"
3)	Usman	644 - 656	"
4)	Ali	656 - 661	"

3 For their Caliphal reigns and the best account of this institution see Hitti and Muir.

4 Bukhari: A'ssahih part 29 Kitab-ul-Ahkam; Muslim: A'ssahih Vol. 5 Kitab-ul-Amarah; Tayalisi: Musnad Tradition No.926. Among Golconda sources see Kitab-ul-Imamah under Aqayd-wa-Kalam No.107 SJM & L. contributed by Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun on the issue of Imamate during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah; Usul-i-Khamsah-i-Imamiyah under Aqayd-wa-Kalam No.11 SJM & L. It is an anonymous work contributed during the times of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah.

5 For further discussion see Muir.

6 The most tragic event of Karbala which took place on 10th Muharram 61/10th October, 680 was more strong a factor to widen the controversy on the issue of Caliphate. For further discussion on this subject see Hitti 185, 186, 190 and 191.

7 Hitti 441-2

8 Enormous literature is available on this issue contributed both by Shiahs and Sunnis of Iran and Golconda.

For a better appreciation of Shiah Sunni controversy on Caliphate, Imamate and Ijtihad see Taftazani ch. XVI & XIX; Taftazani H.Y. ch. on Imamate. Regarding Golconda contribution to the subject see Kitab-ul-Imamah by Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Khatun; also see f.n. 13 below.

9 As a matter of fact the emergence of an Imam with a divine authority does not constitute an expressed article of fundamental faith yet the Shi'ite scholars emphatically assert that it was essential. They agree that it was not expressedly provided but it was a natural corallary of God's attribute of Kindness (Lutf) see H.Y. ch. Imamate. For an evaluation of this issue see Hitti 439-442; also see f.n. 13 below.

Though not as an essential article of faith but Sunnis too believed in the re-emergence of an Imam.

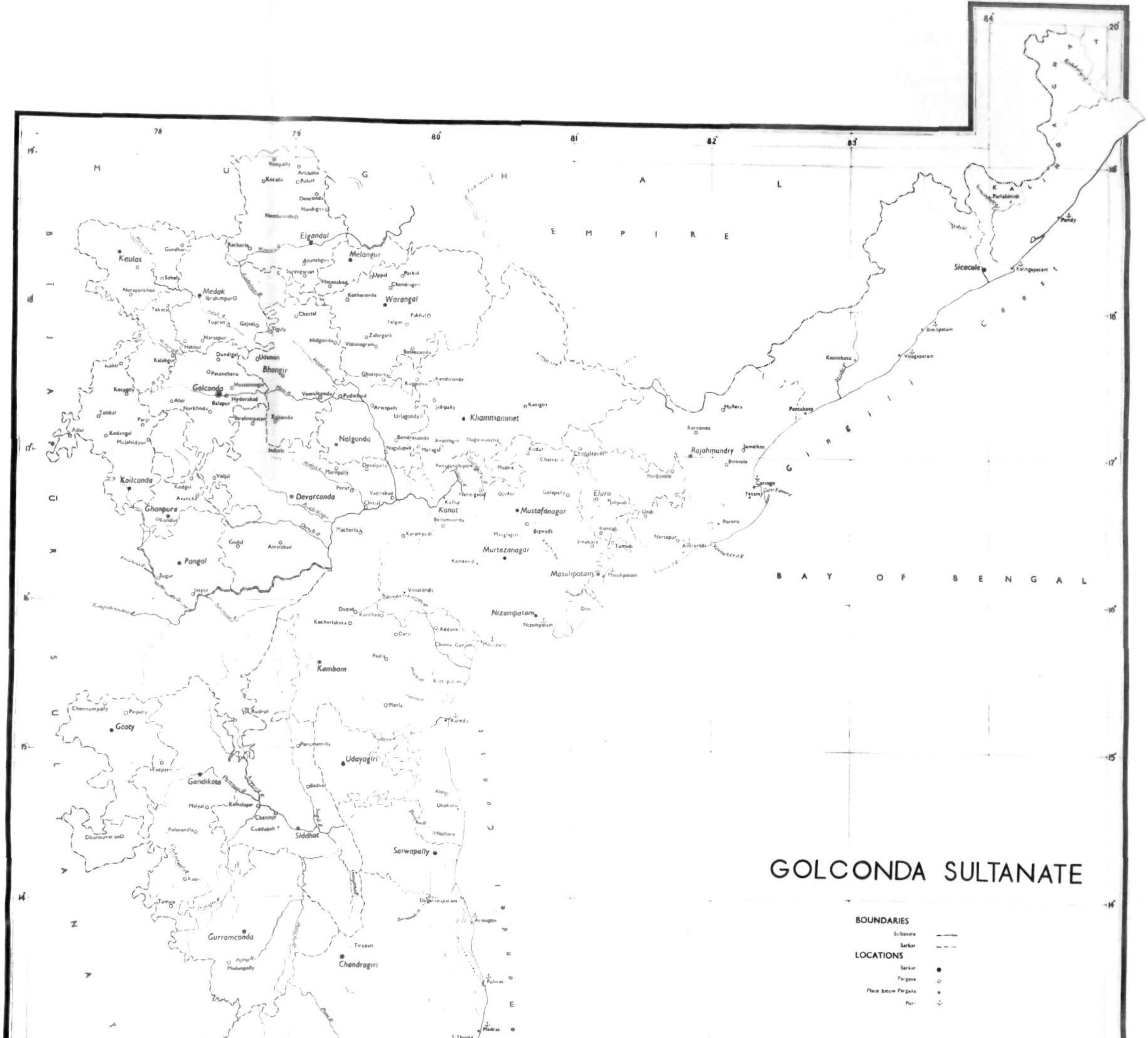
10 H.Y. ch. Imamate

11 Taftazani 145, 146

12 Hitti 397-400; Browne IV, 23

13 Among some of the significant contributions of Golconda to Shi'ite literature under Safavi influence mention may be made of the following works:

Sirat; Tuhfah; Usul; Imamah; Masumiyah; and also Ibn Khatun: Tarjuma-i-Qutb Shahi and Shah-i-Jami -i-Abbasi; Ali Bin Tayfur: Tuhfat-ul-Gharayib; Mu izu'ddin Muhammad Ardastani: Fauz'unnajat and many other works which partially deal with such issues.



GOLCONDA SULTANATE
BOUNDARIES
Sultanate
Sarkar
LOCATIONS
Sarkar
Pargana
Place below Pargana
Port
BAY OF BENGAL
MUGHAL EMPIRE
BIJAPUR SULTANATE
Kaulas
Medak
Elgandal
Melangur
Warangal
Golconda
Hyderabad
Bhongir
Nalgonda
Khammammet
Koilconda
Ghanpura
Devarconda
Pangal
Kanat
Mustafanagar
Murtazanagar
Eluru
Rajahmundry
Sicacole
Masulipatam
Nizampatam
Kambam
Gooty
Udayagiri
Gandikota
Siddhot
Sarwapally
Gurramconda
Chandragiri
Madras

Annexure – C

Note on the map of Golconda

The territorial expanse of Golconda underwent many geopolitical changes in the course of a century and four score years of the dynastic rule of the Qutb Shahs. It attained its largest expanse during the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah. It is therefore proposed to draw a map of Golconda under Abdullah Qutb Shah. The boundaries of the kingdom even during his reign were marginally variable under the pressure of Mughals in the North and with the dynamic role of Mir Jumla Mir Muhammad Sa'id in the South. The boundaries in the present map have been delimited in view of their comparative stability.

The source material on the geo-politics of Golconda is rather scattered and the best way to appreciate its territorial expanse may be through a statement of income

and expenditure of the reign of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah which confirms the division of the Sultanate into thirty seven Sarkars. Each further sub-divided into Parganas as tabulated below.

	Sarkars	Number of Parganas
1.	Muhammadnagar (Golconda)	22
2.	Medak	16
3.	Kaulas	5
4.	Melangur	3
5.	Elgandal	21
6.	Warangal	16
7.	Khammammet	11
8.	Devaraconda	13
9.	Pangal	5
10.	Mustafanagar (Kondaipally)	24
11.	Bhongir	11
12.	Nalgonda (Akrakara)	6
13.	Koilconda	13
14.	Ghanpura	8
15.	Murtazanagar (Guntur)	39
16.	Masulipatam	8
17.	Nizampatam	
18.	Eluru	12
19.	Rajahmundry	24
20.	Sicacole	115
21.	Kanat (Rent)[1]	

The names of 15 out of 16 Sarkars as enumerated in the document should be as listed below.

1.	Siddhot	8
2.	Gandikota	15
3.	Gooty	12
4.	Gurramconda	12
5.	Kambam	18
6.	Vellore	8
7.	Tirupatur	10
8.	Udayagiri	6
9.	Chandragiri	10
10.	Chingleput	3
11.	Sarwapally	12
12.	Kanjivaram	15
13.	Trinomalai	11
14.	Gingi	8
15.	Vandewas	3[2]

Obviously all the above territories were the achievements of the period of Abdullah and continued for sometime during the reign of his successor Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. The same administrative divisions were maintained by Aurangzeb and his successors.[3] The main changes in those divisions were effected by the British East India Company after 1800.[4] The other sarkars held by the Nizam were reorganised as districts consequent on Zilla Bandi effected in the year 1865.[5] The survey maps of Major F.S. Scott

prepared in 1854 provide the Sarkar maps of the Nizam's dominion as well as the district maps of the Ceded Sarkars which help in building up the original Sarkars with the help of contemporary lists of Parganas and villages prepared from the times of Aurangzeb to Mir Nizam Ali Khan and many treaties (tahnamajat) of Nizam Ali Khan with the British Government. A complete map of Golconda Sultanate has therefore been obtained with the help of the Sarkar maps of Major Scott which neatly suggest the boundaries of the Sultanate.

ENTRIES

The entries of the names of Sarkars and Parganas are based on Golconda statement of income and expenditure of the reign of Abul Hasan (1672-1687), the Qutb Shahi Chronicles especially Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi and Hadiqat us salatin as well Dih ba dih of Aurangzeb's administration, Savanih-i-Deccan of the period of Mir Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803) other manuscripts and documents. The names of places below parganas have been entered exclusively from contemporary sources.

Entries regarding ports mainly owe to the works of various European travellers.[6] There are altogether 238 entries in the map.

THE BOUNDARIES

Despite obtaining the above neat divisions of sarkars, there still remain a few loose ends respecting the boundaries of the Sultanate. In the North East of the Sultanate the last Sarkar is Sicacole which according to contemporary sources had one hundred and fifteen Parganas.[7] The Northern Parganas of Sicacole have been listed neither by the Qutb Shahi sources nor by the Mughals. Contemporary Qutb Shahi chroniclers broadly refer to the hilly regions of Kaling[7] (Kalinga which stretch upto Mahanadi in the North).[8] To work out the frontiers of the Sultanate in the extreme North East a decision has been taken based on a detailed study of its physiography keeping in view the probable common borders shared with Hindustan and the Racio-linguistic factor. The Northern boundaries (from East to West) have been worked out with River Rishikuliga, Kalinga Ghat turning down to Parlakimidi joining Scotts boarder of Sicacole and Rajahmundry. Other Sarkars being Khammammet, Warangal, Melangur, Elgandal and Kaulas in the South of River Godavari.

In the West (from North to South) Scott's borders of the Sarkars of Kaulas, Koilconda, Ghanpura, Pangal, determine definite territories. Below Pangal the entire area of Taraf Karnatak comprising 16 Sarkars is not in its original form as marginal changes were effected in those

Sarkars consequent on the District organisation of Madras Presidency by the British. Now by putting Scott's maps of those parts together the South Western border of Golconda has been obtained but it may not be as accurate as the North Western border from Kaulas to Pangal. From a detailed examination of Pargana lists of the Sarkars[9] of Bijapur Sultanate it has been observed that even after the district organisation of the Sarkars the changes in the South Western borders of Golconda are not more than fifteen to twenty per cent except immediately in the South of the Krishna river. At that point the Adil Shahi Sarkar of Adhoni had projected Eastward between the Qutb Shahi Sarkars of Pangal and Gooty and the border line between the two Sarkars were somewhat unstable.

In the South again the actual territories and boundaries had been changing time and again. If however the Qutb Shahi statement of Income and Expenditure is taken as basis, at least sixteen Sarkars down upto Gingi and Trinomalai may have to be included in Golconda though the Qutb Shahi suzerainty on such parts shall be subject to discussion and controversy.

The most natural and neat is the border of Golconda in the East which runs along the Bay of Bengal from Kalinga Ghat and Pondy in the North to Gingi in the South.

References and Notes

1 Kanat has been defined by Prof. H.K.Sherwani as Rent.

2 A statement of Income and Expenditure of the reign of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah contains all the above details. The statement was probably recorded by the Mughal intelligencer. Zafrah 173, 175 also Dih ba dih ff 248 a to 252 b; also see Sherwani (Q) 655.

3 Dih ba dih Ibid ; Savanih ff 67 b to 90 b.

4 For the details of the districts ceded by Mir Nizam Ali Khan to the British Government see A History of Mir Nizam Alee Khwan by Hollingberry London 1805

5 Chiragh Ali: Hyderabad under Sir Salar Jung, Vol.II: 164-5, 177, 179, 182.

6 The European travellers who have visited Golconda have been introduced in Evaluation of Sources (Annexure E); Sherwani (Q) 492

7 See Sicacole in the statement of Income and expenditure cited above; Dih ba dih f 250 a Savanih f 80 b

8 Hadiqah 94, 144, 227, 242; Talqani No.54. For the definition of Kaling see Rao, R.S.: Kalingadesha Charitramu

9 For the lists of Sarkars and Parganas of Bijapur see Dih ba dih and Savanih f 81.


SAFAVI IRAN
SAFAVI IRAN
PRESENT IRAN
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AZARBAIJAN
IRAQ-E-ARAB
TABERISTAN
KHORASAN
SEISTAN
IRAQ-E-AJAM
KIRMAN
MAKRAN
Local Rulers
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Persian Gulf
Oman Sea
Red Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Ottoman Empire
SYRIA
(SHĀM)
Dasht-e-Qipchaq
L. Khwarazm
The Khānate Of Uzbek
BADAKHSHĀN
Indian Gurkhānids
SIND
QALĀT
KICH
HUDIĀN
BALUCHESTĀN
GURGISTAN
(GEORGIA)
DĀGHISTĀN
SHERWĀN
ARMENIA
ZOLQADR
AMĀSIA
QARĀMĀN
JAZIRA
KORDESTĀN
BAGHDĀD
LORESTĀN
KHUZESTĀN
ISFAHAN
FARS
LARESTĀN
JIROFT
SIRJAN
GOASHEER
BAFQ
QOHISTAN
Dasht-e-Kavir
Dasht-e-Lut
DAMGHAN
DAMAVAND
RUSTAMDAR
GORGAN
ISFARAIN
ABIVARD
BĀDGHIS
GHARJISTĀN
GHOR
QANDAHAR
Lake Hamun
Tabriz
ISFAHĀN
TEHRĀN
Qazvin
Baghdād
Basra
Herāt
Mashhad
Kirmān
Shiraz
Yazd
Bandar Abbās
Hormuz
Qandahār
Kābul
Damascus
Aleppo
Trābzon
Sinop
Shatt-ul-Arab

Annexure – D

A Note on the Map of Ṣafavī Iran

There are a very few countries which endured such a highly fluctuating geopolitics as Iran did. Though Iran has a remarkably distinct physical personality, politically it oscillated to regions farther afield now in one direction and then in the other.

During the reign of the last of Īlkhani Monarchs named Abu Sa'id Bahadur (716-736 / 1316-1335 A.D.) the Iranian Empire stretched between 27°E to 73°E longitude and 23°N to 43.5°N latitude covering Antalia, Anqara, Sinop in the West. From Sinop to Tarabzon, Georgia, Gorganj to Peshawar (running below Oxus) in the North; from Peshawar to Qandabil down to Oman Sea running along the western bank of the river Sindh in the East. From Antalia to Tarsus, Malatiya, Raqqa to Basra, running in the South West of Euphrates and the coastal line of

Persian Gulf and Oman Sea in the South.[1] On the death of Abu Sa'id Bahadur in 736 A.H./1335 A.D. the great empire tottered into a number of principalities governed by local dynasties as the Jalayirs, the Āl-i-Muẕaffar, the Sarabdars and the Āl-i-Kurt.[2]

Those main divisions were further intervened by the various dependencies like that of Chaupanis in the Jalayiri, the small Atabegs of Lur in the Muẕaffarī dominions. In addition to the above there were many other petty principalities like Padushupanis, Bawandis, Sādāt-i-Marʿashi, Kiyās and Ishqvand families who ruled over Mazandarān, Rustamdad, Lahijan, and Gilan etc.[3] The successors of Abu Sa'id could hardly maintain the territory which they succeeded. Nevertheless founding the so called Jalāyirī dynasty, they held their sway over Western Iran stretching into Asia Minor beyond Dayār-e-Bakr. It was that Jalayiri province in which the Qara Quyunlu Turkman flourished with their centre at Arjish or Lake Van.

LAKE VAN

Here it may be appropriate to give a brief note about Lake Van where the Qara Quyunlus the ancestors of Quṭb Shahs rose to the highest authority in fifteenth

century Iran. Lake Van, which is deeply set in the complex of Western Zagros, is a huge water reservoir located between 42°E and 44°E longitudes and 41°N and 42°N latitudes. Immediately around Lake Van there is a strip of tableland of an altitude from 1000 to 2000 metres which is further encircled by Zagros range of an altitude of 2000 to 3000 metres with two peaks in the North and South of Lake Van elevating over 4000 metres and a few passes in the South West. This large down-throw basin has been fed by at least two rivers flowing from the Eastern highland and pouring into Lake Van. There are a very few cities which have developed in this valley. Van appears on the Eastern side of the Lake whereas Akhlat on the west and Vastan in the South as towns of considerable size.

Lake Van has been referred to in history in many ways. On the maps of Median kingdom, Seleucid domains, Parthian and Sassanian empires it has been indicated as Lake Thospitis or Daryā-e-Nayirī. In the Ṭahiri, Ṣaffarī, Samanī, Ziyarī, Buyī, Ghaznavī dominians as well as in the Saljuq, Khwarazm Shahi and Ilkhani empires it has been referred to as Arjish. The same name continued during the times of the Muzaffaris, the Timūris and the Ṣafavīs.[4] Ḥamd-ullah Mustaūfī refers to it as Buhaira-i-Arjish (or the Sea of Arjish)[5] Nihavandi mentions this lake as

Buhaira-i-Batlis (or the Sea of Batlis)[6] Muḥammad Mufid Mustaūfī shows Arjish in the Āzarbāijān Province of the Ṣafavī Iran.[7]

Arjish or Lake Van is now in Turkey clearly separated by at least one longitude from modern Iran.

THE ṢAFAVĪ IRAN

Geo-political personality of Ṣafavī Iran underwent many changes throughout the period of this study. A map of Ṣafavī Iran during the reign of Shah ʿAbbas the Great has been given in the historical Atlas of Īran at plate No. 21. This is a bilingual map drawn to a scale of 1=75,00,000 Kms with about 189 entries including the names of a few ports and Islands. The names of larger provincial divisions such as Iraq-e-Arab and Iraq-e-Ajam had been totally avoided and the names of only 18 districts have been distinguished with bold entries.

The above findings have been elaborated and authenticated in the light of Aūṣāf-ul-Amṣār of Muḥammad Mufid Mustaūfī, Kitābul Masālik wal Mamālik by Ibn Khurdad Bih and Nuzhat-ul-Qulūb of Ḥamd-ullah Mustaūfī and contemporary historical chroniclers. In the light of above investigations the following provincial and district organisation of Iran during the reign of Shah ʿAbbas the

Great has been ascertained.

Main divisions	Sub-divisions
1. Iraq-e-Arab	1. Jazira
	2. Bag͟hdad
	3. K͟huzestan
	4. Lorestan
	5. Kordestan
2. Iraq-e-Ajam	1. Fars
	2. Iṣfahān
	3. Larestan
3. Āzarbāijān	1. Daghistan
	2. Gurgistan
	3. S͟herwān
	4. Talish
	5. Qara Bagh
	6. Arran
	7. Irvan
	8. Kharput
4. Taberistan (Mazandrān)	1. Gīlān
	2. Rustamdar
	3. Damavand
	4. Damghan
	5. Gorgan (Jurjan)
5. K͟horasan	1. Abivard
	2. G͟harjistan
	3. Badghis
	4. Ghor
	5. Iṣfarain
	6. Qohistan (kuhistan)

6.	Seistān	1.	Seistān
		2.	Hudian
		3.	Qandahar
7.	Makran	1.	Makran
		2.	Kich
8.	Kirman	1.	Kirman
		2.	Jiroft
		3.	Goasheer
		4.	Sirjan
		5.	Bafq

The above classification of main and sub-divisions is based on many sources which sometimes contradict, particularly in respect of grouping of sub-divisions.[8]

Similarly the names of Ṣafavī ports have been chiefly derived from Ausāf-ul-Amṣār which could be identified and located with the help of Wilson's masterly work The Persian Gulf and its map.

Regarding the frontiers of Ṣafavī Iran particularly the Eastern and Western it is not possible to show the actual position through a single map even for the reign of a single ruler. The geo-political changes are not directly related to the subject of our study. Nevertheless it may help to envisage the political personality of Iran. The boundaries demarcated in plate No. 21 of Historical Atlas

of Iran have been adopted here. These boundaries suggest the largest map of Iran during the Ṣafavī regime as under Shah ʿAbbas I.

The facts discussed above have been incorporated in the map with cartographic accuracy. The present map affords 300 entries with indications of provincial and district organisation, major cities, major endoreic and exoreic rivers and all the ports.[9]

References and Notes

1 Iran Atlas plate No. 17

2 The Jalāyirs (the descendants of Ilkhanis) held Western Iran between river Arax in the North and the Euphrates in the South stretching to Rey in the East and upto Roha and Raqqa in the West.

The Āl-i-Muzaffar governed the Southern Iran below Hamadān and Seistān in the North to the entire coastal Iran dipping into the Persian Gulf and Oman Sea between the River Karun in the West and River Sindh in the East. The Sarabdars ruled over a tract covering the Western Khorasan and Seistan.

Āl-i-Kurt who reigned over North Eastern Iran from Nishabur in the West to Peshawar in the East; Tarmez in the North to Qandabil in the South.

3 H.S. III, part II gives a graphic picture of the sway of these dynasties and the conduct of principalities; Sykes II, 115-117 also see Iran Atlas plate No. 18.

4 Aūṣāf 115; Iran Atlas plates 4 to 21

5 Ḥamd-ullah Mustaūfī: Nuzhat ul Qulūb 241

6 ʿAbdul Bāqī Nihavandī: Ma'asir-i-Rahimī I, II

7 Aūṣāf op. cit.

8 The tabulation is mainly based on Aūṣāf read with Fisher 'Physical Geography' (C.H.I.)

9 Aūṣāf f. 240 provides an exhaustive list of Ṣafavī ports.

Annexure – E

EVALUATION OF SOURCES

The study of various aspects of relations between two political entities like Golconda and Iran is based on a good number of sources not only from Golconda and Iran but also the Mughal, the Transoxianian, the Turkish, those of other Deccan Sultans, the Dutch, the English, the French, the Portuguese, the Italian and Arabina. Moreover there are native sources in Tamil and Telugu. Some of these sources have been directly made use of while some indirectly. A few modern works too are useful in supplying basic data. The contemporary data has to be necessarily supplemented by some important later sources. This has however been done very sparingly. The list of all the sources is so ponderous that even the bibliography has to be made a very selective one. It is not possible to evaluate all the sources in full details. Here only such sources have been briefly introduced on which this study is based.

GOLCONDA SOURCES

Sec. 1 Political History

Political history of Golconda was recorded by many historians of the Sultanate but some earlier works like Marghūb'ul Qulūb are not extant. Among the existing works the three chronicles have been found basically useful for this study.

TĀRĪKH-I-QUṬBĪ

Tārīkh-i-Quṭbī popularly known as Tārīkh-i-Elchi-Nizam Shah of Khurshah bin Qubād ul Ḥusaynī (d. 972/1565) is one of the most contemporaneous work so far as it deals with the history of the Deccan sultanates and Ṣafavī Iran. The author was attached to the Court of Burhān Nizam Shah by whom he was sent to Iran as an ambassador. He was received by Shah Ṭahmāsp at Ray in 952/1545. He remained in Iran for about 19 years till 971/1563. It is during this period he wrote this universal history. It has one complete section on the five sultanates of the Deccan. When returned from Iran, he joined service under Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah and dedicated this work to him. This work supplies valuable information on the early political history of Golconda as well as Iran.[1]

TĀRĪKH-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shahi is the work of an anonymous author who completed it in Golconda in 1027/1617. The actual title of the book is Tārīkh-i-Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. It is an abridgement of a very elaborate official chronicke which was not approved by the Sultan. The author of the original elaborate work as well as the person who abridged it were in Quṭb Shahī service and made their contributions at the instance of the Sultans.

The work owes to some such sources which are not extant, like Marghūb-ul-Qulūb or Tārīkh-i-Maḥmud Shahi from which the author has taken long extracts. Information regarding the ancestory of Quṭb Shahs has been claimed to have been obtained personally from Sultan Quli Quṭb Shah by the author of Marghūb-ul-Qulūb, Ṣadr-i-Jahān Mullāh Ḥusayn Tabasi from whom the author of Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shahi borrowed it.

The work has an epilogue dealing with the ancestory of the Quṭb Shahs and Quṭb Shahs themselves from Sultan Quli Quṭb Shah to the end of the first five years of the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.

Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shahi has been taken as a unique and authentic sources of Golconda History unanimously by all historians.

This work has been used as a basic source throughout this study.

ḤADĪQAT-U'SSALĀṬĪN

Ḥadīqat-u'ssalātīn of Mirzā Nižāmu'ddin Āḥmad bin ʿAbdullah Sa'idi S̄hirazi is contemporaneous and authoritative history of the reign of ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shah from the beginning of his reign to the end of 1053/1643. It is a comprehensive history which reflects on Golconda culture and the religion of nobility with frequent references to the Iranian influence on it. It has information on Golconda-Mughal relations in many details. There are casual references to the Dutch, the Dane and the English merchants settled at Masulipatam.

There is no such authentic chronicle for the rest of the reign of ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shah and Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shah. For this period one has to resort to the Mughal or European or later sources. One interesting later source is the anonymous Žamimah-i-Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shahi (Tārīkh No. 680 SCL) added at the end of a copy of the Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shahī preserved by State Central Library, Hyderabad. This supplement is partially based on Ḥadīqat-u'ssalātīn and partially on local traditions collected by the author during the eighteenth century. Though it is full of anecdotes yet it cannot be totally overlooked.

Among later chronicles Tārīkh-i-Ẕafrah of Girdhari Lal Ahqar written in 1927 is also a sound work. It cites many documents which bear on Golconda relations with the Mughals and an estimate of expenditure of the reign of Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shah.

There are many other later works of scholars like Ghulam ʻAli Āzad Bilgirāmī, Laxmi Narayan Shafiq and Abul Qasim Mir ʻAlam which contain useful information. Similarly some books like Dabistān of Zulfiqar, S̄huzurʻul iqyan of Iʻjaz Ḥusayn, Nujūmu's sama of Muḥammad Ibn Sadiq Ibn Mihdī, Kas̄hf-ul-Huyub wal Astar of Sayyid I'jaz Ḥusayn and Maḥbūb ul Albāb of K̄huda Baks̄h have many useful details about the diplomats and the scholars involved in this study.

Sec. 2 Correspondence

The letters of Quṭb Shahi Sultans addressed to the Shahs of Iran are rather scattered. The letters of early rulers are found either in Iranian sources like Makātib-i-Zamanah-i-Ṣafaviyah or in the chroniclers and other Golconda works like Tārīkh-i-Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah, S̄hajar-i-Dānis̄h of Ḥakīm Niẕām-ul-Mulk Gīlānī or Ḥadaiq-u'ssalātīn of ʻAli bin Tayfur al Bastami.

However there are collections of letters like Makātib-i-Sultan ʻAbdullah Quṭb Shah. This work includes his

correspondence with the Mughal rulers and princes. Two very significant collections of correspondence of ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shah and Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shah are introduced here.

MUNSHA'AT-I-DABIR UL MULK

This is a collection of the correspondence of ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shah with the Mughal Emperors and princes and the Ṣafavī rulers of Iran drafted by Ḥājī ʿAbdul ʿAli Talqani, the royal epistolarian of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah definitely from 1655 onwards. The copy before us is in author's own handwriting preserved in the private collection of late Nawab ʿInayat Jung. It may be noted that a copy of the same is preserved in the British Museum as Inshā-i-ʿAbdul ʿAli Tabarizī (No. Add 6600). This copy has been very carefully edited by Sayyid ʿAbbas Ḥusayn Mūsavī son of late Nawab ʿInayat Jung under the title of Muktūbat-i-Sultan ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah. This edition which could not have been published has a useful supplement (Mulhiqat) containing reply letters to ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah, which have been collected from different authentic sources. This is beautifully calligraphed and the references contained in this thesis refer to this edition.

MUNSHĀ'AT-I-MUNSHĪ-UL-MULK

ʿAbdul ʿAẓīm Talqani was the son of Ḥājī ʿAbdul ʿAli Talqani. He was the court epistolarian during the reign of

Sultan Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shah. Its original copy in author's hand is preserved in private collection of late Nawab ʿInayat Jung. Like Munshaʼat ʿAbdul ʿAli Talqani this too has been edited by Sayyid ʿAbbas Ḥusayn Mūsavī son of late Nawab ʿInayat Jung but remains unpublished. It is this edition which has been referred to in this study.

Sec. 3 Religious Literature

The religious and idealogical literature progressed hand in hand. On occasions it is impossible to separate them. There are a few specialised works while some are general and comprehensive.

ṢIRĀT-UL-MUSTAQĪM WA DIN-I-QAWIM

This is one of the earliest works professing Shi'ite creed in Golconda. It was written during the reign of and dedicated to Sultan Ibrāhim Quṭb Shah. The author's name has not been indicated yet it may be pointed out that a work of similar title was contributed by the Iranian theologian Mir Muḥammad Baqir Damad (d. 1041/1631-2). This scholarly work represents the influence of Ṣafavī Movement in the Deccan. It has detailed sections about muslim theology, prophethood and Imamate from Shi'ite point of view. It has boldly criticised the mystic concept of the Unicity of Being (Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd) and many other propositions of Scholastic thinkers which were not in attunement with Shi'ite creed. This work

has been taken as an important source for studying the Ties of Religion and the Traffic of Ideas between Golconda and Iran.

ĀYĀT UL ĀḤKĀM

Āyāt ul Āḥkām of Shah Qāẓī Yazdī is an important manual of Fiqh. It mainly deals with: (i) Faith and Forms of worship, (ii) Social contacts and transactions, all from Shi'ite point of view. About forty chapters of the work deal with the subject first in the light of the provisions of Quran then with reference to several Imāmiyah Traditions. It was written in Golconda in 1021/1612 and was dedicated to Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.

TARJUMAH-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

The Traditions of the prophet were recorded by many expert traditionalists most of whom were Sunnis. The Shi'ite Traditions preserved in the household of the Prophet were called Aḥādīs̤-i-Imāmiyah. Much attention was paid during the Ṣafavī period to collect and compile Imāmiyah Traditions. The Arba in of Bahau'ddin Amoli (d. 1031/1632) is a standard manual of Imāmiyah Traditions written in Iran during the reign of Shah ʻAbbas the great Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatun translated Arba in with explanatory notes under the title of Tarjumah-i-Quṭb Shahī and dedicated the work to Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. The manuscript before us (No. 10, Ḥadīs Imāmiyah, SJM & L.) is dated 1024/1615 which was taken by Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatun

with him to Iran in 1027/1618. He showed the translation to Bahau'ddin Amoli who recorded his attestation on its last folio. The manuscript was subsequently preserved in the royal library of Golconda. This manuscript is an important evidence of Shi'ite Traditions in Golconda.

USŪL-I-K̲HAMSAH-I-IMĀMIYAH

Usūl-i-K̲hamsah-i-Imāmiyah is a brief but comprehensive scholarly treatise dealing with the five fundamental principles of Shi'ite creed: (i) A Unicity of God, (ii) Justice, (iii) Prophethood, (iv) Imamate and (v) Resurrection.

The author's name is not known. The work was contributed during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. The authorities to which it has references include the Quran, the Ḥadīs̤, the sayings of Imāms, Aristotle, Avicenna, Isamu'ddin Israili, Tabari, Ibn ʿal ʿArabi, Nasiru'ddin Tusi, ʿAbdu'rRahman Jāmī. It is an excellent example of ṣafavī way of presenting Shi'ism.

S̲HARH JĀMĪ -i- ʿABBASĪ

This is a commentary of Bahau'ddin Amoli's Jāmī -i- ʿAbbasī made by Burhan Tabarizī at the instance of S̲hayk̲h Muḥammad Ibn K̲hatun. Burhan Tabrizī is the famous lexicographer who wrote Burhan-i-Qaṭi.

Jāmī i- ʿAbbasī was a manual written for Iranian citizens to regulate their faith and conduct accordingly.

Its commentary shows that Golconda did not delay in introducing it in a more palatable way in its jurisdiction.

KITĀB-UL-IMĀMAH

This is a masterly work of Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatun Amoli written in 1058/1641 during the reign of ʻAbdullāh Quṭb Shah. As evident from the title it deals with the most controversial issue of Imamate from Shi'ite point of view. The enormous work has touched upon every possible aspect of this polemic and has evaluated the views of all important authorities. This achievement of Golconda scholar is quite superior to any other work on the subject produced in Iran. This affords an unusual instance of the idealogical influence of the Ṣafavī Movement in Golconda.

FAUẒU'NNAJĀT

A comprehensive work on the issue of Imamate written by Mu'izu'ddin Ardastani in Golconda in 1058/1648 and dedicated to ʻAbdullāh Quṭb Shah. The issue of Imamate has been dealt with from Shi'ite point of view as stimulated by the Safavi Movement. It has chapters introducing the lives of all the twelve Imāms. The treatment of subject is quite scholarly with the tone of a preacher.

TUḤFAT UL GHARAIB

Tuḥfat ul Gharaib is a Persian rendition together with a commentary on the famous Arabic work Masa'il-i-ʻAbdullāh bin

Salām. The translation and commentary is by ʻAli bin Tayfur al Bastamī. It contains some parables of the prophet and ʻAli.

NIKĀT-I-DAWĀM-I-DUDMAN-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

This has been written by Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al Yazdī in 1054/1644 is a small treatise emphasising that the Shi'ite faith was upheld by the Deccan Sultans from the times of the Bahmanis. It has a section on the religious policy of Quṭb Shahs and a section sanctifying the Quṭb Shahs with reference to the prophecies of Shah Niʻmatullah Kirmānī.

Regarding the works on Islamic eschatalogy with Shi'ite details produced in Golconda or imported there mention may be made of a treatise entitled Dar Taḥqiq-i-Maʻad Wa Hashr-i-Ajsād written by Muḥammad Muqīm bin Kamālu'ddin Ḥusayn during the reign of ʻAbdullāh Quṭb Shah and Risālah-i-Ma sumiyah of ʻAli bin Tayfur al Bastamī. In addition to these works there are chapters in other works of larger scope like Dānish Nāmah-i-Shahī, Usūl-i-Khamsah-i-Imāmiyah, Ḥaqq-ul-Yaqin of Mir Muḥammad Baqir Majlisi et cetera.

Sec. 4 Idealogical and Ethical

Some of the idealogical and ethical subjects have been partially discussed in religious literature. The following works exclusively deal with ethics and scholastic philosophy.

TUḤFAH-I-SHAHĪ ʿATIYAH-I-ILAHĪ

It is the Persian rendition with detailed commentary on the Tajrid of Nasiru'ddin Tusi (d. 672/1274) by Zaynu'ddin ʿAli Badakshshī bin ʿAbdullāh during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah to whom it is dedicated. Tusi's Tajrid is a masterly work of scholastic philosophy and 'a favourite text for the countless host of commentators and writers of notes'.

Badakshshī's commentary is quite stimulating and by no way inferior to any of the commentaries of Tajrid made in contemporary Iran.

KHIRQAH-I-ʿULAMAH

Khirqah-i-ʿUlamah of Ibn ʿImad Ruzbihan Iṣfahanī is one of the works cyclopaediac range written in Golconda during the reign of Sultan ʿAbdullāh Quṭb Shah. Ibn ʿImad who had vastly travelled and had his contact with contemporary scholars successfully attempted at writing on a variety of subjects. The six volumes of this work deal with such subjects as

1. Tafsir
2. Ḥadīs̤
3. Fiqh
4. Ibn-i-Babwayh's philosophy of 'Being'
5. (a) Scholastic Philosophy and theology
   (b) Prophethood
   (c) Imamate and
   (d) Resurrection

6. A good number of disciplines from Ethics, and Statecrafts, to games et cetera. This work has been made use of at many stages of this study.

NAFĀIS UL FUNŪN FĪ ĀRAIS UL῾UYUN

This is a famous encyclopaedia of sciences and religion. It was compiled by Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd Āmoli during the eighth century Ḥijra. It was got transcribed very beautifully by ῾Abdullāh Quṭb Shah in the year 1035/1625 at Hyderabad. The same copy of royal library has been used in this study. The scores of disciplines dealt in this classical work need not be introduced here. However it affords a best example of the diffusion of religious thought and other Iranian ideas in Golconda.

MAJMU῾AH-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

Majmu῾ah-i-Quṭb Shahī is a small treatise dealing with the issues of ethical nature. It was contributed by an anonymous author during the reign of ῾Abdullāh Quṭb Shah. In Bohar Library it is preserved under the title of Jung-i-Quṭb Shahī.

DASTŪR-UL-῾AMAL-I-SALATĪN-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

This has been written by an anonymous author for the rulers and the nobles of the Golconda. This is a small manual of ethics and statecraft extracted from Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī and

similar other works. A similar work entitled Tuḥfah-i-Quṭb Shahi contributed by an anonymous author during the reign of ʿAbdullah Quṭb Shah is preserved at Oxford (Bodleian Library MS: EB i 1471).

MAKĀRIM-I-AKHLAQ-I-TABRASĪ

One notable achievements of ethical nature is Persian translation of Makārim-i-Akhlaq-i-Tabrasi. This has been done by ʿAli bin Tayfūr al Bastamī in 1061/1651.

RISĀLAH DAR AKHLAQ

This too is an ethical treatise contributed by an anonymous author during the reign of Sultan Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shah. This brief work attempts at providing a practical manual of ethics.

Sec. 5 Medicine

Some of the treatises of medicine are contained in works like Khirqah-i-ʿUlamah and Nafāis ul Funun which are of larger scope. A few significant specialised works are introduced here.

ZUBDAT-UL-ḤIKAM

It was contributed by Shamsu'ddin bin Nūru'ddin. It is a complete manual of hygiene written in Golconda during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah. About thirty five

of its chapters deal with such subjects as (i) essential conditions for health (ii) care during changing seasons (iii) care about various parts of body like ears, nose, eyes, throat, liver et cetera (iv) diets: including serials, vegetables, sweets, liquors et cetera. This is typical in its Greco-Arab character.

IKHTIYĀRĀT-I-QUṬB SHAHĪ

Ikhtiyārt-i-Quṭb Shahī of Mir Muḥammad Mūmin is based on the famous manual of medicine entitled Ikhtiyārāt-i-Badiʿi. It deals with simple and compound drugs. All the drugs introduced in this volume were assayed in Golconda by Mir Muḥammad Mūmin and other fellow physicians. This was done at the instance of Sultan Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah.

Another anonymous work entitled Makhzan-i-Ṭibb-i-Quṭb Shahī has been attributed to Golconda by Dr.Zor. It is a detailed Pharmacopoeia.

ṬIBB-I-FARĪDĪ

Ṭibb-i-Farīdī of ʿAbdullāh Tabib was written during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah. This is a brief but comprehensive manual of medicine dealing with hygiene, therapeutics and pharmacology. It frequently makes references to Hippocrates, Plato and Galen.

MĪZĀN U'ṬṬABAI QUṬB SHAHĪ

This is a complete manual of pharmacopoeia of compound and simple drugs available in India and elsewhere in the Middle East written by Taqiu'ddin Muḥammad bin Ṣadru'ddin during the reign of Sultan Muḥamad Quṭb Shah. He has also given detailed chapters on Diets and general Hygiene.

RISĀLAH-I-MIQDĀRIYAH

This has been written by Mir Muḥammad Mūmin and deals with the issue of weights and measures which had commercial as well as religious sanctity. Most of the weights, especially minute weights were disputed regarding their weight. The main reason for this controversy is that the 16th and 17th century international bāzārs of Asia had overlapping series of weights introduced by the Arabs, the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, the Turks and Iranians, the Indians and others. It created a confusion of values and denominations and even that of pronunciation. The confusion seriously affected the activities in pharmacies and transactions in commercial and religious matters. Sultan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah realising the seriousness of this situation desired Mir Muḥammad Mūmin to carry exhaustive research into the matter and furnish an authentic and workable system. Risālah-i-Miqdāriah is the result of that research which is based on such classical authorities as detailed in its preface. Mir Muḥammad Mūmin could work out (i) complete system

of about 13 weights in addition to which he has worked out the value of 49 weights of other nomenclature or denomination which were variably used in India, Iran or elsewhere in the East. He has also discussed the measures of length. This scholarly treatise has been made full use of in the chapter Commercial Contact.

RISĀLAH-I-GĪLĀNĪ

The contribution of Ḥakīm-ul-Mulk Ḥakim Nizamu'ddin Gīlānī is multifarious. Three of his works Risālah-i-Gīlānī Majmu'ah-i-Ḥakīm ul Mulk and Shajar-i-Dānish have survived through the ravages of time.

Risālah-i-Gīlānī is basically a pharmacopoeia, while Majmu'ah-i-Ḥakīm ul Mulk is a collection of about 14 small treatises dealing with the use of tobacco, honey et cetera or with such subjects as prognostication, and traditions. His Shajar-i-Dānish is a work of cyclopaedic scope. It comprises 108 treatises, some of which written by him while the other collected by him. These treatises include even political correspondence between 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shah and Shah 'Abbas II. Other treatises relate to pharmacology, theraptics, theology, religious polemic, scholastic philosophy ethics et cetera.

This work represents Iranian influence on Golconda in various fields of intellectual activities.

Sec. 6 Archival Sources

The documents of Golconda are scattered in different institutions. These documents are of different types relating to various administrative levels. Most of the documents are firmāns, witness deeds or deeds of transaction. A good number of such documents is preserved with different family and private collections housed in the State Archivs, Andhra Pradesh. Similar collections are still preserved with various ṣūfī families of Gulbarga, Bidar and Hyderabad. Such Archival sources reflect in many ways on many aspects of this study.

Another important source is the Mughal Archivs pertaining to the reign of Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb numbering about 1.5 lakhs of documents preserved by the State Archivs of Andhra Pradesh. These documents reflect the Mughal strategy and administration of the Deccan from 1628 to 1707 and thus furnish graphic data on the third dimension of this trilateral study. These Archivs also include Mughal intelligencer's report of Golconda. Such reports have been found useful in the study of the political and diplomatic relations, commercial contacts and even in working out an accurate map of Golconda.

OTHER DECCAN SOURCES

Sec. 7 The two chronicles

The history of medieval Deccan cannot be studied without two chronicles: Firishtah and Burhān written in Bijapur

and Ahmadnagar respectively. These chronicles are basically political but they also provide valuable data on the socio-cultural and religious aspects of the history of the medieval Deccan. The biographical data of various intellectuals of the medieval Deccan is also contained in them.

TĀRĪKH-I-FIRISHTAH

Firishtah was born in 960/1552 at Astarabad. His father was employed in the Nizam Shahī services of Ahmadnagar. He migrated to Deccan while quite young. His father Hindu Shah was subsequently appointed as the preceptor of Prince Miran Ḥusayn son of Murtuza Nizam Shah. Both Firishtah and his father remained in the services of Murtuza Nizam Shah (972/1564 to 996/1587) and later during the reign of Mirān Ḥusayn 997/1589. In the year 998/1590 Firishtah went over to Bijapur where he was appointed as the court historian by Ibrāhim ʿAdil Shah. It was during that period Firishtah completed his magnificent work Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimī which is popularly known as Tārīkh-i-Firishtah.

Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimī or Tārīkh-i-Firishtah is a general and comprehensive history of India from earliest till 1015/1606. The account of the earliest is too sketchy. For the early Muslim period his sources are the same as those of Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī. In addition to which Firishtah also made use of Tarikh-i-Binakati, Mulhiqat-i-Tabqat-i-Nāṣirī of Shaikh An-u'ddin

Bijapuri, Siraj-uttawārīkh of Mulla Muḥammad Lari Tārīkh-i-Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandhārī, Favaid-ul-Fuvad etc. The most significant part of this work for the purpose of present study has been the third dissertation relating to the rulers of the Deccan, the fourth, fifth, sixth relating to the rulers of Gujarat, Malwa and Khandesh and the eleventh relating to the Portuguese occupation of Malabar.

Tārīkh-i-Firishtah holds an excellent account of the Bahmani and its five succeeding dynasties in the Deccan up to 1015/1606. Though there are minor anachronistic errors here and there which are indicative of a week editorial capacity, Firishtah is plain, direct and is an unavoidable source.

Tārīkh-i-Firishtah has been copiously made use of in almost all the discussions contained in this study.

BURHĀN-I-MAʿASIR

Sayyid ʿAli Taba Taba the author of Burhan-i-Maʿasir hailed from Iraq and had come to Golconda during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah while he was leading the campaign of Naldurg. On account of certain reasons he could not stay in Golconda and moved over to Aḥmadnagar where he wrote Burhan-i-Maʿasir at the instance of Burhan Nizam Shah. He completed the events upto 1003/1594. His son Abu Ṭālib completed it in 1038 bringing it to the end of battle of Sonepat 1009/1600. The work

deals basically with the Bahmanis and with the Nizam Shahs of Ahmadnagar. It contains valuable information on the Inter-Statal relations of the Deccan Sultans, the Shi ah beginning in the Deccan the early career of Sultan Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shah. The Shi'ah missionaries in the Deccan and the Mughal oppression against Ahmadnagar.

IRANIAN SOURCES

Sec. 8 Political History

Iranian sources of the political and diplomatic aspect of this relations are variegated. Some of the works which afford basic data for larger spaces of are introduced here. These works include chronicles, geneologies and biographical accounts (Tazkirahs).

MATLA'-U'SSA'DAYN

Kamāl-ul-din'abd-u'rRazzāq was born at Herat in 816/1430. He was called Samarqandi on account of the reason Samarqand was the birth place of his ancestors. His father Jalāl-ul-din Ishaq was 'a judge and Chaplain' in Shah Rukh's army. In 1841/1437-38, after the death of his father'Abd-u'r Razzāq was taken in the retinue of Shah Rukh in view of his scholarship.

In 845/1441-42 'Abd-u'rRazzaq was sent by Abūl Qāsim Babur on an ambassadorial mission to Vijayanagar where

he stayed for three years. He continued to be in active service of Chaghtai princes from Shah Rukh to Abu Sa'id and then retired to a private life. His only formal engagement was that he was the incharge of the monastrial Khanqah of Shah Rukh in Herat till his death in 887/1482. He had vastly travelled in Iran and its neighbouring regions from Oxus to Tigris and from Arax to Sind. The entire dramatic rise and fall of Qara Quyunlus was in his living memory.

His work Matla'-us Sa'dayn is a unique scholarly contribution to the history of Timur and his descendants. The three volumes of the work cover pre-Timurid and post-Timurid period respectively. The most complete and contemporary copy pertaining to Timurid and post Timurid period and holding a graphic account of the rise and fall of Qara Quyunlus, is preserved in the State Archives, A.P. The same has been made use of in the present study.

Matla'u'ssa dayn has been mostly used for the study of the ancestors of the Quṭb Shahs of Golconda and also for the ancestral background of the Ṣafavīs of Iran and the Mughals of India.

ṢAFVAT-U'SSAFA

This is a voluminous work without any record of its date of compilation but it is based on the records and traditions preserved in the Safavi family. The author Ibn

Bazzaz Tavakkul Bin Ismā'il Ardabili was a disciple of the Ṣafavī household. The work mainly deals with the life of Shaikh Ṣafī-u'ddin Ishaq of Ardabil after whose name goes the dynastic title of Ṣafavīs. The work introduces the geneological lineage of Shah Safi-u'ddin upto 'Alī and also introduces the mystic order to which Shah Ṣafī-u'ddin was attached. The work is of hagiographic nature. This is supposed to be a unique source on the dynastic origin and the religious career of the Ṣafavīs. Its abridged versions are also available in many institutions. One abridgement made by Abūl Fath al Ḥussainī is preserved at Salar Jung Museum and Library, Hyderabad.

Ṣafvat-u'ssafa had been made use of in the section ancestral back ground of the Ṣafavīs contained in chapter I and in the chapter: 'The Ties of Religion'.

TĀRĪKH - 'ĀLAMĀRA-I- 'ABBASĪ

Iskandar Munshī was a court historian or a biographer of Shah 'Abbas I. He completed Tārīkh 'Ālam Āra-i-'Abbasi in 1025/1616. For most of the period covered by 'Ālam Āra-i- 'Abbasī, Iskandar Munshi had been an eye witness. Of course the early background of the Ṣafavī dynasty had been borrowed by him from such works as Ṣafvat-u'ṣṣafa and he also gathered information from elderly scholars of his times who had memory of the events of somewhat earlier days of the Ṣafavī regime.

ʿĀlam Āra-i-ʿAbbasī opens with an introduction (muqaddama). Then the main work has been divided in two volumes having several discourses (maqālahs). The first volume deals with the ancestors of Shah ʿAbbas down to Shah Muḥammad known as Shah Khudabandah. The second volume is the detailed annal of the reign of Shah ʿAbbas I. The description of events has been arranged in a chronological order which has been strictly observed so far as the movements and actions of Shah ʿAbbas I are concerned. But at the end of the description of some years he has narrated and commented upon certain events under topical headings as 'arrival of Elchis of various countries' 'Clashes among nobles' etc. In such cases he has gone into the details of events and avoided specific dates. This renders it difficult to ascertain during which part of the year such events took place. In any case Tārīkh ʿĀlam Āra-i-ʿAbbasī is a unique and the richest source of Ṣafavī history upto the reign of Shah ʿAbbas II.

The work has been made amply use in discussions pertaining to the Political and Diplomatic Relations, Commercial Contacts, Ties of Religion and the Dynastic introduction of Ṣafavīs in respective chapters.

JĀMĪ -I-MUFĪDĪ

Jāmī -i-Mufīdī of Muḥammad Mufid Mustaūfī Bafqi is a very useful Iranian source on Indo Iranian relations.

The author was born in Bafq where he received his early education in the year 1077/1666. He was appointed as the Accountant of Aūqāf Yazd. In 1081/1670 he travelled in various parts of Iranian and Arabian Iraq. In 1082/1671 he proceeded to India and reached Surat from where he went over to Delhi and then to Golconda. In 1086/1675 he went back to Delhi where he stayed for two years. In 1088/1677 he joined prince Muḥammad Akbar at Multan. Then he stayed at Lahore. In 1091/1680 he completed Aūsāf-ul-Amṣār.

The entire work comprises three ponderous volumes. The first dealing with the history of Iran from Alexander to Timur. The second deals with the Ṣafavī dynasty from beginning to the reign of Shah Sulaymān Ṣafavī. The third is a geographical account of Iran. This part is also known as Mukhtasir-i-Mufīdī or Aūsāf-ul-Amṣār. This has been introduced separately. The part dealing with the Ṣafavī dynasty is very useful.

Sec. 9 Correspondence

The political correspondence is scattered in different Iranian Mughal and Golconda sources. All such notable sources have been included in the bibliography. Yet there are a few systematic collections containing important letters which may be introduced here.

MAKĀTIB-I-ZAMĀNAH-I-SALATĪN-I-ṢAFAVIYAH

This is an extremely valuable Iranian source being a collection of the correspondence of the Ṣafavī rulers from Shah Isma'il I to Shah Ṣafī. Letters of each monarch have been edited in a separate chapter and on occasions the reply letters addressed to the Safavi monarchs have also been interpolated. The correspondence is basically international in character as it is with the rulers of the Ottoman Empire the Uzbegs of Transoxiana, the Mughals of Hindustan and the Sultans of the Deccan. This book was compiled by Husayn bin Adham u'nNāṣiri u'tTusi during the reign of Shah Ṣafī Ṣafavī. It appears from editorial notes that it is based on some earlier work to which the editor of this collection added many more letters. He has also tried to arrange the letters in sequence and has supplied their dates in rubrics.

It is interesting to note that Makātib-i-Zamānah-i-Salatin-i-Ṣafaviyah is identical to the Nuskha-i-Jāmī-i-Murāsilāt ul Albāb of Abūl Qasīm Ḥaydar Baig Iwaghlī (Evoghli) preserved in British Museum (add 17688, or 3482). The contents of the two are mostly common. The letters are generally in Persian but a few of those addressed to the Ottomans of Turky are in Turkish. The names of epistolarians have also been indicated. Most of the letters of the reign of Shah 'Abbas were drafted by I timad u'ddaulah Mirza Ḥātim Baig (d. 1019/1610).

The letters contained in Makātib-i-Zamānah-i-Salātin-i-Ṣafaviyah and Nuskha-i-Jāmī -i-Murāsilāt ul Albāb form the basis of the diplomatic relations between Golconda and Iran from the beginning to the reign of Shah Ṣafī together with further international perspective of relations. Letters addressed to some of the merchants like Ḥājī Ibrahīm and others contain information on commercial contacts of Iran with other countries.

INSHĀ-I-ṬAHIR WĀHID

Muḥammad Ṭahir Wāhid Qazvinī was a poet and an epistolarian. He was first a munshī under Mirzā Taqiu'ddin Muḥammad and then under Khalifah Sultan the two successive Prime Ministers of Iran. In 1055/1645-6, he was appointed as the court historian and epistolarian by Shah ʿAbbas II. In 110/1689-90 he became a minister. He died in 1120/1708-9. He wrote a history of the reign of Shah ʿAbbas II entitled Tārīkh-i-Shah ʿAbbas S̤āni (74 SAAP and No. 105 SJM & L). This is a useful political history of the reign of Shah ʿAbbas II but more useful for the purpose of this study is his Insha which comprises his letters addressed to the contemporary rulers of Turky, Transoxiana Hindustan, Golconda and Bijapur. This correspondence reveal various aspects of the political and diplomatic relations of Golconda and Iran .

Sec. 10 Religious and Idealogical

The religious and Idealogical literature produced in Iran and imported to Golconda was enormous. It was not possible to include a complete list of them even in the bibliography. The selected works of Muḥammad Baqir Majlisi, Muḥammad Taqi Majlisi, Mir Baqir Damad Mullah Sadru'ddin Shirazi, Qazi Nurullah Shustari indicated in the bibliography had all reached Golconda. Apart from such contemporary sources there were the works of some earlier authorities like Nāṣiru'ddin Tusi and ʿĀlam ul Huda Sayyid Murtaza whose ideas were strongly upheld by the Ṣafavī Movement.

A couple of such works are briefly introduced here as cross sections.

TABṢIRAT-UL-ʿAWAM FĪ MAʿRIFAT-I-MAQĀLAT-IL-ANAM

It was written much early by Sayyid Murtaza ʿĀlam ul Huda (d. 436/1044) a frequently cited authority in Golconda. Its copy preserved in Salar Jung Museum and Library appears to have been prepared during the seventeenth century. This masterly work deals with various religious sects and school of thoughts such as the Jews and Judism, Christianity, worshippers of fire, the Falasafah, the Kharajites, the Mu tazilites, the Murjites, the believers in transmigration, the Sufis, the Imamites and others. Such works should have been effective vehicles of

carrying ideas from Iran to Golconda.

DĀNISH NĀMAH-I-SHAHĪ

The author, Muḥammad Amin was a great Mujtahid of Iran and he was the founder of the Akhbarī school (Browne IV 374). He had an occasion to meet Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatun while the latter was in Iran as an envoy of Qutb Shahs. Muḥammad Amin contributed Dānish Namāh-i-Shahī specially for Muḥammad Quṭb Shah and sent it through Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn Khatun.

This is a very important work dealing with scholastic philosophy of the Ishraqis, the Sufis, the Mutakallims, the Mu tazilhs, the Asha irahs and the Usulis of Imāmiyah sect. He has also discussed the part played by the Greek thought on the development of these schools. He has introduced his own Akhbarī theory in the light of which he has discussed various fundamentals of muslim faith. The author has cited the authorities throughout his discussion.

This work contains valuable information on the religious ties as well as the traffic of ideas between Golconda and Iran.

Sec. 11 Geographical

There are a few sources of the geography of Ṣafavī Iran. The best among which is Aūsāf-ul-Amṣār.

AUṢĀF-UL-ĀMṢĀR

This is a historical geography of Ṣafavī Iran with a complete gazetteer. In the preface to his work, Mustaūfī has stated that in 1087/1676 while he was in Hyderabad in the company of the nobles from various countries he was put to surprise that they knew but little of the geographical facts about the Ṣafavī Iran. He therefore compiled Aūṣāf-ul-Āmṣār to enlighten the contemporary elite about Iran.

Aūṣāf-ul-Āmṣār is based on such sources as ʿAjaib-ul-Buldān Rauẑat-u'ṣṣafā, Tuḥfat-ul- Iraqaīn and Haft Iqlīm etc. He has furnished brief historical data and the geographical location of each place in terms of oriental classical geography. Mustaūfī has provided information for about 400 cities, 71 forts, 16 Islands and 14 ports of Ṣafavī Iran. Mustaūfī has detailed the names of provinces, districts, villages etc., categorically in a tabular form as well.

Aūṣāf-ul-Āmṣār is significant as it is contemporary work of an eminent scholar who had vastly travelled in Iran and abroad. Still it is not free from flaw. Its sources like ʿAjāib-ul-Makhluqāt are more fictitious than scientific. Mustaūfi too, is fond of legends and anecdotes. It is a valuable source which may be made use of by testifying its information with other contemporary data.

It has been utilised in the geographical account given in the first chapter as well as in the preparation of the map of Ṣafavī Iran and the note on the map of Ṣafavi Iran in Appendix D.

MOGHAL SOURCES

Sec. 12 Political History

The political and diplomatic relation of Golconda and Iran were governed by their relations with the Mughals. It is not therefore possible to study their relations without looking into Mughal sources. The Mughal sources are quite well known yet some of the major sources need briefly be introduced from a point of view needed for this study.

BĀBUR NĀMAH

The monumental work of Bābur provides ample information on the fact how Bābur could establish his hereditary title to sovereignty in Hindustan and how the Indian potentates submitted their allegiance to him. The work also supplies information on Bābur's relation with Shah Īsmā'il Ṣafavī.

Bābur Nāmah is one of the important sources used in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations.

TAẒKIRAT UL WĀQI'ĀT

The author of the work, Jauhar, was Humāyun's servant designated ewer-holder (Āftābchī). He remained in

the retinue of Humāyun for a long period. Though he does not seem to be a scholarly person yet he was an educated man with a keen observation and capacity to record his memoirs. He was one among those two persons who accompanied Jahāngir during his flight to Iran and was perhaps more intimately close to the emperor than any one else in the retinue. He recorded his memoirs of Humāyun from 937/1530 upto Humāyun's death on 11th Rabi´I 963/21st January, 1556. Jauhar Āftābchi's Taẓkirat-ul-qaqi'at is a unique document not only about Humāyun but also on Indo-Iranian relations during his times.

Taẓkirat-ul-Qaqi'at is an important source of information of many discussions in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations.

MUNTAKHAB-UT-TAWĀRĪKH

Mullā ´Abdul Qādir was born by about 949/1542 at Badāyun and received his early education under Shaikh Mubārak Nagorī. In 981/1573 he joined a service of at the Court of Emperor Ākbar. He was so close to Ākbar and was held in such respect as to lead the prayers performed by the emperor. Mullā ´Abdul Qādir was capable enough to narrate the events in the perspective of national and international policies.

Mullā ´Abdul Qādir completed this work in 1004/1595 and the same year he died at Badāyun. The second and the

third volumes of Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh are valuable sources of the 16th Century Indian History, with important references to Indo-Iranian politics and important celebretis.

This work provides valuable background information and missing links in many discussion on inter-statal and international political issues. It has therefore been used in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations and the Ties of Religion.

ĀKBAR NĀMAH

This is the work of Shaikh Ābul Fażl ʿAllāmī, who needs no detailed introduction. He was born on 6th Muharram 958/1551 at Agra and was educated by his father Shaikh Mubārak Nagurī who was an eminent scholar. In the year 981/1573 he was appointed by Ākbar as incharge of Dar-ul-Inshā. He ultimately rose to the position of a vizir.

Ākbar Nāmah is a comprehensive history of the Mughals in 3 volumes the first volume has been divided into two parts (daftars). Similarly the second volume has also been divided into two parts the second of which is a later contribution by Munshī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ at the instance of Shah Jahān. The third volume is known as Āin-i-Ākbarī which shall be dealt with separately. The 1st part of the 1st volume deals with the events from the times of Timūr

down to the death of Humāyun. The second part of the 1st volume opens with the accession of Ākbar and closes with the event of his 17th regnal year. The 1st part of the 2nd volume deals with the events from 18th upto 46th regnal year of Akbar. He completed the work in 1010/1601. The second part of the second volume contributed by Munshī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ begins from 46th regnal year of Ākbar and ends with the events upto his death in 1014/1605.

Ābul Fażl was a scholar of high stature intimately acquainted with the political affairs of the reign of Ākbar by virtue of his official capacities in Dar-ul-Īnshā, of his being vizir and later a political agent in the Deccan. Throughout his writings he is scrupulous enough to record the events with dates and maintain a neat sequence. His point of view is that of the central Government of India which was never agreeable to concede to the individuality or the autonomy of the regional potentates including the Sultans of the Deccan. Though his historiography is a product of his own scholarship yet it is by no means less than an official history. Ābul Fażl has given a graphic picture of the Mughal military and diplomatic strategy in the Deccan with all frankness. It also affords an authoritative account of Ākbar's relations with Iran. Ābul Fażl's historiographic insight has an additional strength of his statesmanship and literary acumen.

This work has been made profusely used of in discussions on political and diplomatic relations.

AIN-I-AKBAR

As introduced earlier under Akbar Namah, this work is the third volume of Akbar Namah and affords a complete account of administration, culture, commerce and the nobility of Akbar's reign. It was completed in the year 1010/1601.

This has been made use of in many chapters especially in Political and Diplomatic Relations and Commercial Contacts.

TUZUK-I-JAHANGIRI

These famous memoirs of Jahangir entitled Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri were got recorded by the Emperor himself from accession to his 17th regnal year. From thenceforward the memoirs were recorded by Mu tamad Khan who was still then serving as the scribe of Jahangir's memoirs. Mu tamad Khan continued to write the events and was reading them out to Jahangir upto later's death in 1037/1628.

This work has also been referred to as Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi, Tarikh-i-Jahangiri, Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri, Karnamah-i-Jahangiri, Maqalat-i-Jahangiri. Jahangir himself assigned it the title of Jahangir Namah but its most famous title is Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

The memoirs afford a graphic picture of the contemporary state of affairs together with Jahangir's sentimental responses to various internal and external events. No work other than this could have drawn so living and vivid a picture of the trilateral relationship taken up for this study. Tuzuk also contains specific statistics of gifts, tributes (Peshkash) and exploits as well as some important documents on Indo-Iranian relations.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri has been one of the essential sources of information contained in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations.

IQBAL NAMAH

Muhammad Sharif Mu tamad Khan has already been introduced in connection with the preceding work Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri is his independant work recorded in 3 volumes. The first of which covers from Timur to Humayun, the second covers the reign of Akbar and the 3rd of Jahangir. The third volume runs parallel to Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri and is rather shorter. It has got a source value in so far as it supplies some additional information which were perhaps discarded by Jahangir in his Tuzuk.

This work has been used as supplement source in a chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations.

BADSHAH NAMAH

Muhammad Amin had migrated to India and joined service in the Durbar of Shah Jahan during his fifth Regnal year. Three years after he was appointed as the court historian hence Badshah Namah. Badshah Namah of Muhammad Amin Qazvini begins with an introduction describing the ancestory of Shah Jahan from Amir Timur. The main work is the account of first then years of Shah Jahan's reign supplemented by a Tazkirah of the celebrities of his reign.

The work is as good as an official document and is very useful in the study of Mughal relations with the sultanates of the Deccan including Golconda between 1037 to 1047 / 1627 to 1637.

LATAIF-UL-AKHBAR

This work is also known as Tarikh-i-Qandahar. The author Muhammad Badi was a scholar of good calibre. He held the position of Diwan under Mahabat Khan.

The work mainly relates to the Qandahar expedition led by Dara Shikoh in the year 1063/1652. It has been divided in three parts, the first of which supplies a valuable background of Qandahar under Uzbeg oppression and Mughal defence of it by Aurangzeb; the second part is a war diary of Dara Shikoh from 10th Jamada II 1063/ 15th Ziqada 1063/28th April, 1653-27th September, 1653 when he was on Qandahar expedition and the

third part deals with the return of Dara Shikoh.

Since Qandahar was the bone of contention between Hindustan, Iran and also the Uzbegs of Turan and their contest had a bearing on the Mughal oppression on the Deccan and so on Golconda-Iran relations. The work affords a proper perspective and a clear insight of that crucial issue. It has been one of the important sources of Information while observing political and diplomatic relations.

BADSHAH NAMAH

Mulla Abdul Hamid Lahori was a student of Shaikh Abul Fazl and had received a good training in history. He wrote this valuable chronicle at the instance of Shah Jahan, and thus this is an official history. It was simultaneously revised by Nawab Sa dullah Khan Allami. The scheme of the work is as follows:

1. Volume I containing events of first ten years from 1037 to 1047/1627 to 1637 of the reign of Shah Jahan.
2. Volume II containing events for the second decade 1047 to 1057/1637 to 1647 of the reign of Shah Jahan.
3. Volume III containing events of the third decade 1057 to 1067/1647 to 1657 of the reign of Shah Jahan.

Abdul Hamid was too old and weak to complete the third volume of the series. Therefore the third volume was completed by his student Muhammad Waris at the instance of Shah Jahan. Abdul Hamid died in 1065/1654.

The work is an accomplished chronology of the reign of Shah Jahan and includes a good number of documents on important issues including Mughal Golconda relations.

This work has been found useful in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations. It has given a graphic account of the events leading to the execution of Deed of Submission.

AMAL-I-SALIH

Muhammad Salih Kambuh was the son of Munshi Inayat-ullah the author of the renowned work Bahar-i Danish and was himself a penman of a good stature and reputation. This work is a complete chronicler of the reign of Shah Jahan finished in the year 1070/1659. It also includes a Tazkirah of nobles, scholars, physicians, and poets who were attached to the court of Shah Jahan. The author was keen to record as many of political and diplomatic documents as he could afford.

Amal-i-Salih is a work parallel to the Badshah Namah of Lahori and helps in authenticating many facts and has therefore been very useful in the study of the Mughal relations

with the Deccan as well as Iran. It has been made thoroughly use of in the chapter Political and Diplomatic Relations.

EUROPEAN SOURCES

Sec. 13 Travelogues

Travellers from Holland, England, France and Italy visited Golconda. Some of those who have given detailed account of Golconda and whose Travelogue have been used in many chapters of this thesis may be introduced.

RELATIONS OF GOLCONDA IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY

The book contains reports of three European merchant travellers to Golconda. It has been ably edited by Moreland with a comprehensive introduction, very useful notes, two excellent maps of the Bay of Bengal and Southern India and an extremely learned appendix on currency, weights and measures. The three relations in order of sequence have been referred as (i) Anonymous Relation
(ii) Schorer's Relation
(iii) Methwold's Relation

Moreland has compiled them in a different order placing the latest in the beginning and the oldest at the end.

1. The Anonymous Relation

The manuscript of this relation does not seem to be

extant. Moreland found it in the collection of Dutch voyages issued with the title 'Origin and Progress' (Begin ende Voortgangh) of the United Dutch Chartered East India Company at page 77 of the reprint of Pieter van den Broeke's voyage to the East Indies (Published in 1644-46). Neither the name of author nor the date has been given by Broeke. Nevertheless it may be ascertained from the internal evidence that the writer of Relations has lived at Nizampatam for about six years from 1608-1614. This Relation is quite brief and supply information about the ports and the markets of Golconda, the religious social conditions of the Sultanate, the Annual Revenue, the commercial commodities, money lending, Forts, administration, crimes and punishments, Flora and Fauna, as well as weights and measures. It has also references of import trade from Persia and Arabia.

This Relation has been made use of in discussions regarding geography and commercial contacts.

TAVERNIER: TRAVELS IN INDIA

Jean Baptiste Tavernier was born in Paris in the year 1605. His father was a geographer and cartographer. Tavernier vastly travelled through the continental countries at the young age of 22. He made six voyages in the East. His first voyage was taken up in 1636 when he saw Alippo, Alexandria,

Malta, Persia and some parts of Asiatic Turkey. He took up his second voyage on 13th September, 1638. During his second voyage he also took up journey through Trunk routes and saw Basra, Iran, Isfahan, Mashhad, Surat, Agra, Golconda, Dacca and many other places in India. During his third journey taken up in 1643 he visited many regions of the Eastern Archipelago between Ceylon, Batavia and Bengal. Again during his fourth voyage in the year 1654 he travelled in a Golconda ship from Bandar Abbas to Masulipatam. That time he visited Golconda, Gujarat and Aurangabad. He made his fifth voyage in 1656 and visited Irivan, Tabriz, Isfahan in Iran and Masulipatam, Burhanpur and other places in India. In 1662 he started his sixth voyage in connection with his business between Iran and India. His travels between Iran and Hindustan cover a period from 1636 to 1663. Repeated journeys brought him into more intimate contacts with the society and culture of Iran, Golconda and Hindustan and the total spanof his journey from Batavia to Holland placed him in a more appropriate position to appreciate the commercial and political activities of Golconda and Iran.

Tavernier's accounts have been made use of throughout the present study. But we specially owe to him in respect of information on the oceanic and Trunk routes, coins, weights, diamonds and export trade of Golconda and Iran.

INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI

Travels of Thevenot

Jean de Thevenot was born in Paris on 6th June, 1633 A.D. He was an ardent student of Geography and Natural Sciences. He compiled accounts of various travels under the title of 'Relations of diverse curious voyages' hitherto unpublished which have been translated or extracted from the original works of French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Dutch, Persian, Arab and other travellers. He intensively toured in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. In January 1666 A.D. he reached Surat and proceeded on his inland journey, to Ahmedabad, Devgaon, Aurangabad and on 26th March, 1666 he was at culver on the North Western frontier of Golconda Sultanate. In April 1666 he reached Hyderabad where he stayed till October when he left for Masulipatam. After a brief visit to Masulipatam he returned to Hyderabad and stayed there for three weeks. He left Hyderabad on 13th November, 1666 and reached Surat after travelling through Bidar, Pathri. In February 1667 he proceeded to Iran and landed at Bandar Abbas or Gombroon. From February 1667 to October, 1667 he stayed at Isfahan then he left for Kashan where he reached on 31st October, 1667. He then went over Qum where he reached on 8th November, 1667. By 16th November, 1667 he was at Farsank where he stopped writing his memoirs. Here it may be mentioned that while at Shiraz he accidently

received a shot from his own pistol but was cured for sometime. He died in Miana on 28th November, 1667 at the young age of 34.

During his short visit to Golconda he proved a keen observer. He recorded a very interesting account of the frontiers of the kingdom, a description of the city of Hyderabad and its inhabitants, the Golconda Fort and the famous diamonds of the kingdom. He has given a valuable account of the routes, the conditions of bazars, commercial commodities, the role of nobility in Society and bazar and similar other observations. Though for a short span of time Thevenot's travels afford observations of considerable significance and constitute a part of the primary sources of the present study.

Thevenot's observations have been made use of in many discussions in the present study specially those in chapter Commercial Contacts.

A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF COUNTRIES ROUND THE BAY OF BENGAL

This is a travel account of Thomas Bowrey who came from a family, the members of which served the British Royal Navy and had been to India. He reached Fort St.George in 1669 and stayed for 19 years. He vastly travelled in South East Asia particularly to Bengal, Patna, Janselone, Queda, Achin, Batavia and other places. He prepared maps of these regions and many charts guiding the travellers and also a Dictionary

of English and Malaya. His accounts hold a good record of the History, Geography as well as Commercio-economic and social life of Golconda. He was a careful observer, a keen analyst and a diligent author. Most of the accounts are those of which he had been an eye witness. He has casually illustrated his accounts with simple peculiar sketches.

Accounts of Bowrey catered information to many discussions in this thesis. Most of the information contained in the Geographical account of Golconda in the opening chapter and that contained in the chapter Commercial Contact owe to him.

THE DIARIES OF STREYNSHAM MASTER

Streynsham Master was an Englishman born in 1640 A.D. and had visited India when he was only 16 and stayed there over 16 years as he returned to England in 1672. He entered the services of the East India Company in 1660 A.D. while he was in the Deccan. In December 1675 he was 'directed to proceed at once to Masulipatam and reduce that factory to order'.

Master's Diaries for his services in the East India Company covering a period from 1675 to 1680 have been masterly edited by Sir Temple with an introduction supplemented with Master's memoirs of his early services from 1660 to 1671 and many other contemporary papers. Master has stayed at Masulipatam and travelled repeatedly between Bengal and Masulipatam.

His diaries contain the rates and invoices of export commodities and the particulars of their shipments as well as information regarding many other things of Golconda bazar such as the influence of Qutb Shahi nobility, the struggle between the English and the Dutch, the coins current in Golconda, the weights and measures, various aspects of the organisation of the textile industries, types of Golconda cloth, taxes, mechanism of prices and so on. His information about the socio-political condition too are no less significant. Master's diaries and other contemporary records edited by Sir Temple are first hand data of contemporary history.

Master has been extensively utilised in many chapters but information contained in his diaries etc., has been especially made use of in the chapter Commercial Contacts.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF EAST INDIA AND PERSIA BEING NINE YEARS TRAVEL

John Fryer was a medical doctor and was born in London in about 1650 A.D. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge and also at Pembroke College. In 1672 he was appointed in the service of East India Company from where he went to Iran. He collected valuable information about the Deccan and Iran. Larger parts of his second and the third volumes relate to contemporary Iran. No doubt the first and the first-half of his second volume contain information about India and the

Deccan. Fryer has collected a good amount of information regarding the socio-political condition, the life of the people and the state of bazars of Iran and the Deccan including Golconda.

This, being the Primary Source, has been fully made use of in many discussion but especially in the chapter Commercial Contacts. Information furnished by Fryer is not absolutely correct and has therefore been scrutinised in the light of other contemporary data. Nevertheless his intimate knowledge and personal experience immediately recorded during his travels assigned his letters contained in these volumes a unique significance. The editorial notes of William Crookes are also very useful and have been made use of.

STORIA DO MOGOR

Niccolao Manucci was born in Venice by 1639 A.D or so. At the young age of 14 in 1653 A.D. he ran away from Venice and hid himself in a vessel bound for Smyrna, where he found a protector in Viscount Bellomont an English nobleman. In the Company of Bellomont he vastly travelled through Asia Minor, Persia and India. Bellomont died suddenly in 1656 A.D. at Hodal and Manucci was left alone. Fortunately he soon found an employment as an artilleryman in the retinue of Shahzada Dara Shikoh. Consequent on the death of Dara Shikoh in 1659 he was again rendered helpless but declined to join services

of Aurangzeb. He then adopted the profession of a medical practitioner. Subsequently he joined services under Rajah Jai Singh, Rajah Kirat Singh son of Jai Singh and Shah Alam son of Aurangzeb till 1681 A.D. Once he tried to run away and went over to Goa but was again detained by Shah Alam in 1684 at Golconda. He stayed in Golconda at least upto 1686 A.D. and had access to the court and harem of Abul Hasan in the capacity of a surgeon.

Manucci is a prolific writer with a strong memory. His detailed narrations of the Mughal and the Qutb Shahi Courts and court politics have been suspected as mixed with exaggeration, falsehood and biased presentations. But still his account is a singular source of the 17th century India, including the Deccan kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur. He had been in Golconda during the last days of the kingdom and had access to the theatre of Golconda-Hindustan political negotiations in a very critical moment. His long stay in India from 1653 A.D. to 1708 A.D. placed him in a better position to appreciate things in an environment than any other European could do.

His accounts are exceedingly useful in gaining a better perspective of the contemporary parties and politics affecting the triangular relations observed in this study. He has recorded valuable information about industrial markets of Golconda and Hindustan.

Manucci has been used in the study of Political and Diplomatic relations and commercial contacts.

Sec. 14 Records of English East India Company

RECORDS OF ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

It hardly needs an introduction that the British had their beginnings in India from the close of the 16th century and established themselves with the beginning of the 17th century. Their factories grew into a net work of various parts of India particularly in the South. The records of the East India Company (actually of its various factories and precedencies) have been preserved at the India Office and the Public Record Office, London, The enormous fund of the records of East India Company and its factories has been introduced by many authors and in many ways. The important series of some of these works which had been made use of in this present study are the following:

(a) The English factories in India ed. Sir William Foster in 13 volumes published in Oxford 1906-27

The 13 volumes provide an elaborate narration of Commercial and Political activities of the English Factories in India between 1618 and 1689. The main object in these compilations was to make out a clear picture of the rule of the

British and to provide detailed information of various Indian regions. The work furnishes authentic contemporary data on various aspects of the Commercial life of coastal Golconda from Masulipatam to Madras. The editor has, for his own reasons suppressed information on Persia in many volumes. The work of course has casual information on the export trade of Golconda and Iran.

This work is based on important archival material and has been edited in perfect sequence; but the references contained in its index are generally wrong and desceptive.

(b) The English factories in India ed. Sir Charles Fawcett in 4 volumes covering a period from 1670-1684

This work has been published as new series between 1936-1955. Its 2nd volume specifically pertains to the Eastern coast of Bengal between 1670 to 1677. The work is also based on such archival material as that of Foster's work introduced above. This is also a first rate source on the commercio-economic history of Golconda and has been used in the study of commercial contacts.

This book too suppressed information about Iran and had been edited with an unsatisfactory index.

(c) Letters received by the East India Company from its servants ed. Sir William Foster published from London, 1897-1902.

It is a useful compilation of the letters specified in the title. It covers a period from 1613-1617. Its 5 volumes (II to VI) are useful in the study of economic history of India. This work has been used in the study of commercial contacts. The index of this work is also quite unsatisfactory.

MODERN SOURCES

Sec. 15 Geographical

Some of the Atlases in geographical study were found extremely useful.

THE PERSIAN GULF, AN HISTORICAL SKETCH FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Wilson, Arnold T. the author of the work is not a professional historian but has a profound interest in the history and geography of the Persian Gulf where he stayed for over eighteen years. He explored the history of the Gulf in collaboration with Mrs. H.W. Mardon of the Egyptian Education Department. The authors have exploited a good number of primary sources of Arabic, Persian, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese. Their intimate acquaintance with the

region and the profound knowledge of its history led them to contribute such an excellent work together with a masterly map of the Gulf.

The book has helped not only in the discovery of many sources of the present study but also in the appreciation of many geographical factors in their correct perspective. It has been used in geographical observations and the study of commercial contacts. Many entries in the map of Safavi Iran, presented in this thesis, owe to the book and map of Wilson.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF IRAN

Historical Atlas of Iran or Atlas-i-Tarikhi-i-Iran is a bilingual (being in English and Persian) Atlas. It has been published by Tehran University on the occasion of the twenty five hundredth anniversary of the Persian Empire or the year of the Cyrus the great celebrated in 1971. The beautiful atlas contains 27 plates of maps predominantly drawn to a scale of 1: 7500,000 covering Iranian history from the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. down to present day Iran. Each map is preceded with a historical note in Persian, English and French. This Atlas is the result of the research of more than a dozen of historians and scholars among whom mention may be made of H.Q. Sotoduh, N. Falsafi, Bastani, Zaryab Mostofi and Zabih ullah Safa for their research on Medieval Iranian

Geopolitics. The cartography had been chiefly done under the supervision of M. Pourkamal.

Plate No. 21 of this Atlas has been of special interest in this study. The same map has been corrected and improved in the course of this study and attached to this dissertation. (See Appendix D on the map of Iran).

The Safavi map has been drawn jointly by Nasr-ullah Falsafi, Muhammad Ibrahim Bastani, Professors of History, Abbas Zaryab, Professor of Literature, and Ahmed Mustaufi Chairman of the Institute of Geography, Tehran University. The authors of the map have nowhere specified the authorities on which the map was based. Nevertheless the main source appeared to be Tarīkh-i-ʿĀlam Arā-i- ʿAbbāsī.

Sec. 16 Some other sources

There are some modern studies based on first rate sixteenth and seventeenth century data explored for the first time.

A GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN COLLOQUIAL WORDS AND PHRASES: HOBSON JOBSON

This is a very useful and thoroughly documented work. The authors realised that the 'words of Indian origin have been insinuating themselves into English eversince the

end of the reign of Elizabeth and the beginning of that of King James'. The authors experienced such Indian words in the writings of the 16th and the 17th century English, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Arab and other travellers to India and also in the records of the European factory. The scope of such terms included words, phrases, kindered terms of etymological historical, geographical and discursive nature. The authors have covered not only a vast range of such glosses but also the many ways in which those Indian and oriental words have been pronounced and spelt by the Europeans in their different languages. For each term they have cited relevant passages from contemporary documents in chronological order with all necessary references.

This work has been proved amply useful in obtaining correct nomenclature of certain places, coins, measures and commercial commodities of Golconda and Iran. Similarly it has been found useful in knowing the value of weights and measures. Even in respect of religion and ideas it reflects the European response to the idealogical and religious atmosphere of Golconda and Iran.

Information has been derived from this book in many chapters of this dissertation but many discussions in the chapter Commercial Contacts have references to this work.

JAN COMPANY IN COROMANDEL

This is a revised and improved version of a doctoral dissertation of Tapan Raychaudhuri thoroughly based on contemporary sources, the main of which are the Dutch records pertaining to the Jan Company preserved in the Koloniaal Archief, The Hague. Dr. Raychaudhuri has made use of many more Archival sources preserved in several institutions of Holland. His archival data have been further derived from the French correspondence Generale preserved with the Archives Nationales, Paris and English factor record and the Hague transcripts preserved in the Indian Office Library addition to the travellers accounts and other contemporary published sources.

The scope of the dissertation is restricted and the treatment of the subject is focused on recording a graphic history of the role of Jan Company of Coromandel as the same played an important part in the contemporary International Market especially the Asian Bazar from Iran to Japan with an intensive operation in the Eastern or chipelago which was centralised at Coromandel.

For the purpose of present study this dissertation afforded valuable Archival data from Dutch sources and more so the same furnished in English. Raychaudhuri's sidelights on the structure of Golconda bazar have also been partially made use of with specific references.

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